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IN PURSUIT OF AN IDEAL:
A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

by

© John Edward Lyons

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled In Pursuit of An Ideal: A History of the National Council of Education submitted by John Edward Lyons in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Foundations.

R.S. Patterson
Supervisor

A. Macleod

R.G. Glassford

Robert J. Carney

Date October 9, 1980

Willard Brehaut
External Examiner

ABSTRACT

The Dominion of Canada came into being at a time when the nation-state was held in high regard. The new dominion was not autonomous nor did it have a distinctive culture. As Canadian autonomy evolved, the perceived lack of identity became a matter of increasing concern to many Canadians, and the search for a Canadian culture became a national tradition. Concern often focused on the role education should play in this field.

World War I increased this concern and led to the establishment of the National Council of Education. Created to improve the moral and civic education being provided in Canadian schools, the movement was popular and attracted support from influential religious, business, educational and governmental figures. During the presidencies of William J. Bulman and Vincent Massey, the Council established a national lectureship scheme, undertook nation-wide textbook surveys, commissioned the writing of new books and lobbied for the creation of a national bureau of education.

Some provinces felt threatened by the Council and its proposed bureau. The Council attempted to allay the fears of those wishing to defend provincial control of education but failed. It decided, therefore, to abandon its attempts to influence schooling.

Instead, the Council turned its attention to adult education. Local committees of the Council in Halifax and Montreal pioneered the field of adult educational broadcasting, and through a lectureship scheme the Council encouraged Canadian development in the fields of

physical education, music, dance and drama. The Council's domination of this arena continued until the Canadian Association for Adult Education was established. The new body, with strong institutional links and secure financing, soon supplanted the National Council.

The Council had been created to give Canadians a sense of focus but its efforts to achieve this led to its demise: the attempt to develop a consensus about the country's social, political and cultural future was out of step with the wishes of most Canadians. Canada was highly regionalized and rejected the standardized pro-British imperial ideal being proffered by the Council.

Even, in its final years, the Council vainly attempted to persuade increasingly-Americanized Canadians to pursue a British model. With financial backing from James A. Richardson and Edward W. Beatty, the Council continued to resist the growth of American influence throughout the depression of the 1930's. Richardson's death brought an end to financing, and, shortly thereafter, war cemented a new relationship between Canada and the United States. The Council, long dedicated to resisting Americanization, lost its sole remaining _raison d'être_ and disappeared.

In its endeavour to develop a distinctive Canadianism, the National Council fought and lost a battle in the struggle which had continued since 1867. A common Canadian identity remained an elusive goal to which most Canadians paid only lip service, and Canada remained a patchwork of competing interests. The Council was representative of the society which had given rise to it. In its failure to achieve its primary purpose it reflected the failure of Canada to solve its problems of unity.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1914, after nearly half a century of confederation, the Dominion of Canada was still deeply divided along regional lines. The Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario all possessed distinctive identities which pre-dated the British North America Act of 1867. Although the cultures of these regions had evolved and changed over time, few of these changes were in the direction of creating a distinctive Canadianism.[1]

Canadian politicians during the first fifty years of confederation were not above using this imperial connection to their own advantage either. Sir John A. Macdonald, who dominated Canadian political life for half of that period, was accused of publicly wrapping himself in the Union Jack to win elections.[2]

In England the idea of a strongly united empire took root, and in 1884 the Imperial Federation League was founded. Although this movement gained considerable popular support in English-speaking Canada, it gained the adherence of no prominent Canadian leader except Alexander Tilloch Galt, one of the Fathers of Confederation and the Dominion's first High Commissioner to the United Kingdom.[3]

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[1] Canadian nationalism was formed from the top. The farther down the scale one went, the less consciousness there was of the whole country, the more of the local community. It was first of all a man's own home that commanded his loyalty, then his church, after that town or province and on full dress emotional occasions, the Empire. Arthur R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation: A History of Canada (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1957, p. 401.

[2] Kenneth McNaught, The Pelican History of Canada (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 204.

Nineteenth century Canadians could be swayed by Macdonald's dictum, "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die," but they could not continue to give lip service to the Empire without cost. Pressure from the imperialists increased in intensity with the appointment of Joseph Chamberlain, the principal public spokesman for the imperial federation scheme, to the position of Colonial Secretary in 1895. The Boer War brought matters to a head, resulting in a sharp split between the provincial sentiments of Quebeckers and the pro-imperial sentiments of Ontarians.[4] Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal Prime Minister who was elected in 1896, effected a compromise which pleased neither camp. Laurier, like Macdonald before him, hoped that Canada would develop into a self-governing nation within the framework of the British Empire.[5]

The fulfillment of such a dream, however, required the development of a sense of nationhood. Although some elements of this were evident prior to 1914,[6] many leading Canadians accepted Canada's continued existence as a British colony.[7] What's more, they expected the rest of society to follow suit.[8] The public schools, which the authorities saw as the primary agency for preparing citizens, were expected to produce suitable British subjects. The Canadianism promoted by the schools focussed on the Empire rather than on Canada.[9]

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[3] Lower, op. cit., p. 433. See also John E. Kendle, The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union (Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

[4] Ramsay Cook with John T. Saywell and John C. Ricker, Canada: A Modern Study (Toronto/Vancouver: Clark, Irwin and Company, 1964), p. 157.

[5] Cook, Saywell & Ricker, op. cit., p. 153.

[6] E.g. At the turn of the century, Queen's Quarterly moved from being a colonial church publication to a journal with a Canadian focus. In the previous decade a group of Canadian poets began to produce work which was distinctively Canadian, with a focus on nature. Lower, op. cit., pp. 413-414.

Problems in making this policy function properly were most evident in the West. Educational authorities on the prairies had to develop policies to cope with large numbers of immigrants of diverse backgrounds.[10] Many of these immigrants did not share the views and culture of the English-speaking Protestant dominant group, and educators faced the difficulty of creating among them a loyalty both to Canada and to Britain. The task was made all the more difficult by the fact that

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[7] See Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[8] "Growing up in Ontario, the generation of the 1920's took it for granted that they belonged to a nation. The character of the country was self-evident. To say that it was British was not to deny it was North American. To be a Canadian was to be a unique species of North American. Such alternatives as F. H. Underhill's - "Stop being British if you want to be a nationalist" - seemed obviously ridiculous. We were grounded in the wisdom of Sir John A. Macdonald, who saw plainly more than a hundred years ago that the only threat to nationalism was from the South, not from across the sea." George Grant, Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), pp. 3-4.

[9] "The wonder is that the tender plant of Canadian Nationalism survived at all, for all little boys and girls have been subjected from the day on which they start to school to an unending steeping in the liquid of imperialism. . . ." Arthur R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making: Social History of Canada (Don Mills, Ontario: Longmans, 1965), p. 371.

[10] "To assimilate these different races, to secure the cooperation of these alien forces, are problems demanding for their solution, patience, tact and tolerant but firm legislation." Northwest Territories, Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1898, Report of the Superintendent of Education, D. J. Goggin, p. 11.

Canadians themselves were not clear about this dual allegiance.[11]

The First World War not only put the imperial allegiance to the test, it wrought tremendous change in Canada. Canadians set off for war firm in their loyalty to the Empire on which the sun never set and to their local and regional identities. Their military and economic achievements during the war gave rise to a new sense of identity which focussed more on Canada.

> In the trenches of France and Flanders, the spirit of Canadian nationalism was born. It was carried back to Canada in the knapsacks of Canadian troops and there, taking firm hold, hastened the slow processes by which a community comes to self-consciousness.[12]

The war also led to a marked growth in Canadian industry. In this growth, Canadian manufacturers tended to look to the United States rather than the United Kingdom as both a supplier and a model. This tendency of Canadians to look to the United States in areas of both trade and ideas further weakened many of Canada's traditional ties with Britain.

Canadians had a mixed view of their neighbour to the south. As a result of its United Empire Loyalist roots, Canada had forged strong imperial links, and, despite a century of peace between the United Kingdom and the United States, had continued to harbour a measure of anti-Americanism. This sentiment, never far below the surface in Canada, had been aroused anew by the Alaska panhandle dispute and used by the Conservative party to win the 1911 federal election. Canadians saw the

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[11] "Ukrainians and Hungarians, Poles and Germans, all had to be ground through the mill of the public school, taught English, and painfully and roughly trained in that English tradition of law and government which was not understood too well by the natives themselves." Lower, Colony to Nation, p. 425.

[12] Ibid., p. 460.

United States, which had emerged from the war as a major world power, variously as a model to be emulated, or as a threat to Canadian existence. American success in creating a new nationality appeared increasingly attractive to many Canadians searching for their own identity.

There were a number of important aspects to the problem of establishing a sense of Canadianism. One was the recognition of the existence of a problem. Many Canadians were not psychologically ready for independence at the end of the war.[13] They expected life to go back to the way it had been before 1914.[14] Others were no longer willing to accept a position of subordination either within the empire or in international affairs.[15] Some Canadians discussed closer ties with the United States, while still others were caught up in the tide of internationalism which engulfed the 1920's.

These issues were complicated by other changes which were underway in Canada after the war. Few Canadians during the 1920's recognized the direction in which the country was going - they were too caught up in their immediate concerns.[16] The twenties witnessed a struggle between the agricultural and industrial sectors of Canadian society. The initial rounds went to the farmers but, by the end of the decade, Canada had become predominantly an urban nation.[17] The latter part of the decade was a period of rapid expansion of mining, hydro electricity, and forestry.[18] The social gospel movement, which had played such an important role in the major Protestant churches, gave way to a growth in religious fundamentalism and a popular scientism.[19]

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[13] Lower, Colony to Nation, p. 475.

[14] "The great myths of the nineteenth century, the century of modern Canada's creation, still glowed with life: order in freedom; stability in progress; truth despite contradiction; hope against despair. In the Canada of 1920, a colonial, imitative and derivative society in which no idea had first been declared and only one or two discoveries had ever been made, these myths still flourished and the actual wreckage of the war was far distant." W. L. Morton "The 1920's" in J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (eds.), The Canadians 1867 - 1967 (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1967), pp. 205-206.

[15] Cook, Saywell & Ricker, op. cit., p. 178.

[16] Morton, op. cit., p. 208.

These changes in Canadian society necessitated a clarification of the direction Canada was going to follow. In the changed conditions after the war, decisions had to be made about the kind of Canadians that the schools should produce. Was Canadian education going to become more national in scope or was it to remain firmly entrenched with the provinces? Was Canada to become an England across the seas, something distinctively Canadian, or a new American melting-pot?

Although the question of Canadianism was one which affected the whole country, it had to be dealt with at the provincial level. The issue of cultural identity was linked directly to the areas of civil rights and education, and sections 92 and 93 of the British North America Act assigned these areas to provincial jurisdiction. Attempts by federal authorities to play a role in this field had been repulsed by the decisions in the Manitoba schools issue during the 1890's.[20]

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[17] Ibid., p. 210.

[18] Cook, Saywell and Ricker, op. cit., p. 190.

[19] Morton, op. cit., p. 207.

[20] Paul Crunican, Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

Despite the spirit of Canadianism which sprang up in the trenches, the decade following the armistice was not one of centralization but one of increasing regionalism. The maritimes formed a Maritime Rights Movement which led to increased federal subsidies in 1927. A similar resentment on the prairies led to the transfer of control of land and natural resources to that region in 1930.[21] It was also a period of problems for provincial authorities. The rapid expansion of mines, forest product mills and secondary industry all fell within the jurisdiction of the provinces, and provincial revenues were unequal to the task.[22]

At the same time, a small but vocal group of Canadian nationalists began to emerge. This group, found mainly in academic and cultural circles, began to aspire to total Canadian political and cultural independence. They attempted to draw on the spirit of Canadianism which had emerged during the war and to apply this sense of identity to all aspects of Canadian life.

Their attempts were complicated by other changes which were occurring in society. Improvements in transportation, communication and commerce transformed North America. While Canada had been able to hold many American influences at bay during the nineteenth century, automobiles, airplanes, moving pictures and radios changed this. The thin line of Canadian settlement strung along the border with the United States found itself becoming more closely linked to adjacent parts of the republic to the south than to the rest of the Empire or even to other parts of Canada. Only in one area, the development of professional ice hockey and the popular radio broadcasts of these games,[23] did these changes work towards rather than against the creation of a distinctive spirit of Canadians.

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[21] McNaught, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-246.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

The question of Canadian identity was linked closely to that of sovereignty. The war gave rise to a sense of independence in Canada which doomed the efforts of those who had hoped to create an imperial federation. The war started Canada on the road to autonomy. It created an awareness that Canada and Britain did not necessarily have the same aims. As a result, Canada and the other dominions slowly evolved a unique form of sovereignty within the Empire. The step by step process culminated with Britain's recognition of the independence of the Dominions by the Statute of Westminister in 1931. Despite newly acquired Canadian political independence, her cultural sovereignty still hung in the balance.

A great many Canadians had little time in 1931, or the years which followed, to be concerned with questions of cultural sovereignty, nationalism or identity. The world was caught up in a major economic depression which hurt Canada more than most countries. Canada depended heavily on foreign trade to sell the primary resources which were the mainstay of her economy.[24] The depression also exacerbated the regionalism of the country by being most severely felt in the Maritimes and the West which were heavily dependent on primary production. On the political level this was extended even further by the election of anti-federalist leaders such as Mitchell Hepburn, the Liberal premier of Ontario, and Maurice Duplessis, the Union Nationale premier of Quebec.[25]

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[23] Ibid., p. 238.

[24] Ibid., p. 246.

Attempts to revitalize the Empire by means of a system of preferential tariffs did little to improve Canadian domestic economic policies.[26] This failure also largely killed any lingering imperial sentiments in Canada.

Canada had entered the First World War confident of her role in the world and confident that the public schools were creating the citizens needed to fit into that world. That world was destroyed by the war. Following the armistice, Canada faced a choice between clinging to a past which was fading away, setting new directions for reshaping the country's educational and cultural life, or simply drifting. The National Council of Education was created to assist Canadians in carving out a new role for themselves in the post-war period.

Thesis Statement

This thesis traces the history of attempts by the National Council of Education to improve civic and cultural education in Canada. The Council, which grew out of the World War I and died in the midst of the World War II, attempted to deal with some aspects of Canadian life which shaped the country's identity in an era of transition.

When the National Council of Education came into being in 1919 there was already a nation-wide educational body, the Canadian Education

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[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

[26] Kenneth McNaught, "The 1930's" in J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244.

Association, which had been in existence for over a quarter of a century.[27] Those responsible for the creation of the new organization hoped that it would be able to accomplish more than the CEA. Their aim was to bring Canadians together and develop a national consensus about the country's political, cultural and educational future.

Over the years the National Council included members who wished to chart a new course for Canada; those who wished to rekindle the dying fires of imperialism, those whose primary interest was the defense of Canada against the growing influence of the United States and those whose interests extended only to the solution of immediate problems. This study attempts to identify the aims and objectives of the NCE and its leaders. It also explores the degree to which the Council's successes and failures were due to internal conflicts and to what degree they were the result of social, economic and political forces beyond their control.

The Council attempted to achieve a wide range of things. This study examines the reasons for the inclusion of new goals and the discarding of old ones. It also details the formation, growth, achievements and decline of the NCE. It accounts for its successes and failures in the light of other developments in Canada during the interwar years and attempts to assess the impact of its activities on the Canadian scene during this period.

The National Council of Education, while not truly representative of twentieth century Canada, did reflect aspects of Canadian life. It was an organization which attempted to influence the changes taking place in the country. Some, such as the growth of American influence, it tried to prevent; others, such as a nation-wide educational focus, it strove to initiate. A study of its efforts to sponsor some changes and resist others highlights the new direction that society was taking.

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[27] Its forerunner, the Dominion Education Association, was founded in 1891.

In one respect the National Council was a representative body; it failed in its attempt to stem the forces of regionalism and to provide a national focus for the country. The inability of this organization to achieve the sense of national purpose after which it strove reflects one of Canada's central problems. The lack of unity in Canada has been a concern since 1867. The study of the National Council of Education is the study of Canada in microcosm.

Sources of Data

Canadian historians traditionally have been primarily interested in political and economic history. Until recently they have neglected the history of Canadian education, and many aspects of this field are still in need of more thorough investigation. The National Council of Education is a case in point.

Few secondary sources deal with the National Council. Those which recognize its existence tend to treat only one aspect of its work. Alf Chaiton's master's thesis, "The History of the National Council of Education of Canada,"[28] and the two articles which grew out of it, "Attempts to Establish a National Bureau of Education, 1892-1926,"[29] and "The National Council of Education: A Case Study of a Voluntary,

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[28] Alf Chaiton, "The History of the National Council of Education of Canada" [Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto (OISE), 1974].

[29] Alf Chaiton, "Attempts to Establish a National Bureau of Education, 1892-1926," in Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald, Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1977), pp. 116-132.

Lay, Extra-Governmental Organization in the Inter-War Period,"[30] are the best secondary sources available on the body. Chaiton's work focusses on the Council's attempts to develop a federal bureau of education.

This study, like Chaiton's, deals with the question of a federal bureau but it also looks in some depth at the Council's efforts in the fields of teacher education, educational broadcasting, educational films, educational publishing, adult education, agricultural education, instruction in music, drama and physical education, and even the general distribution of films and magazines. By using additional archival sources from British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Quebec and Nova Scotia, it also attempts to broaden the geographic focus on the Council's activities.

Freeman K. Stewart, in one chapter of his Interprovincial Cooperation in Education,[31] discusses the 1920's when the Council supplanted the Canadian Education Association as Canada's leading educational organization. Ron Faris's The Passionate Educators,[32] which grew out of his doctoral dissertation,[33] touches on the NCE's efforts in educational broadcasting. Charles Phillips accords the work of the NCE one page in his book,[34] while Donald Wilson, Robert Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet mention it even more briefly.[35]

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[30] Alf Chaiton, "The National Council of Education: A Case Study of a Voluntary, Lay, Extra-Governmental Organization in the Inter-war Period," The Politics of Canadian Education, 1977 Yearbook of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, J. H. A. Wallin, ed. (Edmonton: Canadian Society for the Study of Education, 1977), pp. 19-26.

[31] Freeman K. Stewart, Interprovincial Cooperation in Education: The Story of The Canadian Education Association (Toronto: W. J. Gage Limited, 1957).

[32] Ron Faris, The Passionate Educators: Voluntary Associations and the Struggle for Control of Adult Educational Broadcasting in Canada, 1919-1952 (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1975).

[33] __________, "Adult Education for Social Action or Enlightenment: An Assessment of the Development of the CAAE and its Radio Forums from 1935-1952." [Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto (OISE, 1971].

Contemporary reports on the National Council provide one source of information. Educational journals[36] provided their readers with occasional reports on the NCE's activities. Other Canadian periodicals,[37] though dealing with the Council's work less frequently, provide the researcher with valuable background to its activities. Daily newspapers chronicled the undertakings of the NCE at the local level and, in libraries scattered across the country, books and pamphlets produced by the Council are still to be found.

Such material alone, however, does not provide sufficient material to write the history of the National Council of Education. Part of the reason for the cursory treatment accorded this organization by historians is the dearth of primary sources. In 1952, a fire destroyed the Winnipeg building which housed the main body of NCE records. The researcher hoping to piece together the history of the organization is forced to depend on the holdings of private, provincial and university archives across Canada. Even these sources present problems: the 1950 Winnipeg flood largely ruined the bulk of the archival holdings of the University of Manitoba; the Provincial Archives of

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[34] C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Limited, 1957).

[35] J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1970).

[36] The B. C. Teacher; The School; The Western School Journal; School and Society.

[37] Maclean's Magazine; The Canadian Magazine; The Canadian Forum.

New Brunswick suffered a number of fires which destroyed many of their holdings; and many other repositories never received local NCE records.

A good deal of primary source material on the National Council has survived. The presidential papers in a number of university archives[38] contain correspondence and documents from the Council and from principal figures in the Council. Similar holdings are found in the department of education and other files located in provincial archives.[39] A number of prominent Canadians who were involved with the NCE deposited their papers in provincial archives or in the Public Archives of Canada. The records of a number of private corporations which supported the Council contain reports both about financing and about Council activities.[40]

Individuals who were members of the Council or involved with the Council,[41] were also contacted for information on their activities and those of their local committees. While few of these individuals have retained records or documents, their recollections have added a perspective which was unattainable elsewhere.

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[38] McGill University Archives; University of Alberta Archives; University of Western Ontario Archives: University of Toronto Archives; University of Saskatchewan Archives; Queen's University Archives.

[39] Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta; Glenbow Alberta Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Saskatchewan Archives Board; Archives of Quebec; Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia; Provincial Archives of Ontario. Records relating to the National Council of Education have also been located in the current files held by the Alberta Department of Education.

[40] Richardson Archives; Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives; T. Eaton Company Archives.

[41] Lilian Watson; Louise Hill; Charity Grant; Graham Spry; Vincent Tovell.

Limitations and Delimitations

The period from 1917 to 1947 was one of tremendous change in Canadian society. A political, economic, cultural and social transformation took place in the country during that time. This study focusses on one organization which was part of that transformation. It outlines the role that the National Council of Education played in these changes and analyzes the impact that they had on this body.

The Overseas Education League and the Empire Youth Movement were headed for many years by the same man as the National Council. Despite the fact that their operations and activities were interwoven with those of the NCE, they were established for quite different purposes and are studied insofar as they relate to the Council. Similarly, other Canadian educational bodies are dealt with only in relation to the Council, or if their activities had a major impact on the transformation of Canadian society.

To the extent that the Council reflected, or was affected by, the character of its main figure, Major Frederick Ney, this study deals with his life and character in some detail. This is not,however, a biography of Major Ney. Similarly, the study makes no attempt to provide complete biographical sketches of the many other individuals who were involved with the National Council.

As far as possible, this study focusses on the National Council as a whole. Details of the operations of local committees in some centres are stressed to illustrate certain features of the NCE's history. Because not all local committee records are extant, it is not possible to provide a clear picture of how the NCE functioned on the local level.

The lack of archival records noted above creates difficulties in attempting to deal with some aspects of the Council's operations. Constitutional and programme information, although scattered, is readily available but financial records are extremely sketchy. Complete details of the day to day operations of the Council are also sparse. As a result, although this study attempts to present as complete a picture of the National Council as possible, it does have unavoidable shortcomings.

Outline of the Study

In the midst of the Great War, Canadians struggled to bring their best resources to bear on the war effort. As the conflict dragged into its third year, a group of Winnipegers, concerned over the possibility of a decline in the moral fiber of Canadians, decided to work toward the improvement of the youth of the nation. Chapter two of this study describes the efforts they made on this behalf and the reaction of fellow countrymen to their idea.

The third chapter focusses on the 1919 Winnipeg conference organized by these men. It analyzes the speeches and resolutions of the conference in the light of the mood following the cessation of hostilities. The establishment of the National Council of Education by that meeting exemplified the idealistic tenor of the freshly victorious country.

The NCE's early efforts to reform Canadian education encountered the problems of indifference and economic recession. The fourth chapter deals with the problems that the National Council faced in its attempts to achieve the goals set for it in 1919. As the unity created by the war dissipated, so did enthusiasm for reform.

Despite its slow start, the NCE prospered in the period from 1923 to 1926. An emerging Canadian cultural identity and growing Canadian strength within the Empire were paralleled by the flourishing of the National Council of Education. Chapter five describes the success of the Council during this period in the light of the growing movement toward Canadian political autonomy.

This drive to autonomy was paralleled by a growing concern about Canadian identity. By the mid-1920's, Canadians began to recognize the impact that radio, motion pictures and other developments in communications and transportation were having on their society. The National Council attempted to halt the drift toward American culture by increasing the pro-imperial thrust of its policies. Chapter six outlines the beginnings of Council's cultural drive and assesses the reception that this received in Canada.

Following the 1929 triennial conference, which had "Leisure" as its theme, the National Council began to promote culture on a large scale. This attempt to reforge the cultural links between Britain and Canada encountered the reality of both the massive economic depression and the growing American cultural presence.. Chapter seven relates the Council's efforts to re-establish a British cultural presence in the face of these difficulties. It also foreshadows the problems which the NCE was to meet in later years.

Chapter eight depicts the final years of the National Council's existence. It recounts the difficulties brought on both by societal forces and by the Council's own actions. It assesses the reasons why the Council lost favour with the Canadian people and analyses the reasons for its decline at a time that other, seemingly weaker organizations survived.

The final chapter provides an overall picture of the history of the National Council of Education. It gives an account of the Council's successes and failures and summarizes the main aspects of its activities. It also places the National Council in the context of its time, especially with respect to shifting Canadian attitudes towards nationalism and imperialism. It analyses these attitudes and societal developments and assesses the reasons why the National Council failed to establish a permanent place for itself in Canadian life.

Significance of the Study

It is not the function of history to be practical in the sense or producing data which can be applied to current or future problems. A knowledge of the activities, successes and failures of the National Council of Education will, however, enhance the understanding of this era in Canadian history.

The National Council of Education touched on many aspects of Canadian life in the first half of the twentieth century. Inter-provincial cooperation in education, nascent Canadian nationalism, the lingering death of British imperialism, the burgeoning influence of the United States on Canadian life, the role of the arts in creating and developing a sense of Canadian identity, and the grouping of a people coming to grips with the electronic media of the twentieth century are all part of the story of the National Council. Although this study does not tell the full story of any of these developments, an understanding of the role of the NCE in these fields throws further light on these events and on their importance in Canadian life.

This is not a history of schooling. The NCE was a voluntary agency which attempted to influence Canadian education in the broadest sense of that term. Its history relates to educational, social, economic, cultural and political developments in Canada. The history of the National Council of Education, from its inception in 1917, through its demise in 1942 and the abortive attempt to revitalize it in 1947, is the focus of the work. The various forces which played a role in this history are analysed to account for changes that took place in the Council and its activities over this thirty year period.

The story of the failure of the National Council of Education is both representative of and part of a larger problem. The NCE's inability to provide an acceptable focus for Canada was symptomatic of the failure of the country at large to achieve consensus regarding the direction of its future development. The perspective provided by this study, and by similar studies which attempt to relate individual facets of Canadian life to overall development, will, it is hoped, contribute to a broadened understanding of Canadian history.

Chapter 2

THE NATIONALIST DREAM

The Setting

National unity has long been an aim of sovereign states, and the development of nation states led to widespread acceptance of the concept of a united nation as a norm rather than simply a vague goal. Even in nation states with largely homogenous populations, however, national unity was often achieved imperfectly and with great difficulty.[1] In federal states, and in states with large cultural minorities the task was made even more difficult. Such problems did not deter other countries from attempting to follow this same path.

Canada was no exception. By the outbreak of the First World War the Dominion which had been in existence for nearly half a century was far from achieving unity. Canadians were divided into a number of religious, linguistic, social, cultural, economic and regional groups with little more than a political framework holding them together. Amongst some English-speaking Canadians there was a growing desire to change this. Such people held a deep conviction that the resources of Canadian schools should be marshalled to unite the country.[2]

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[1] This can be seen in problems of Italian unification in the mid-nineteenth century, in the German kulturkampf at the end of the nineteenth century and in the growing tide of Welsh, Breton and Basque separatism in the United Kingdom, France and Spain in the twentieth century.

[2] J. C. Sutherland, "A National Purpose in Education," The Canadian Magazine, May, 1913, pp. 57-61.

Before such a move could be undertaken a number of obstacles had to be overcome. The very nature of the country hampered any attempt to use the school as an agency of unification. The population was thinly stretched along the four thousand mile border with the United States with only rail and telegraph links between the various geographic regions. The only unifying force in the country (except for the historic link with the crown) was the federal government, which was denied a voice in education by the constitutional division of powers in the British North America Act.

The country's diversity appeared to work counter to the desires of those Canadian nation builders who wished to emulate the attempts being made in the United States to create a homogeneous nation state. Such diversity was further complicated by guarantees of special treatment given to some minorities. With the exception of British Columbia, all of the school systems in Canada had, at one time or another, encouraged or at least tolerated varying degrees of religious and/or linguistic diversity.

Such difficulties did not, however, deter those who were dedicated to the cause of the common school and its use for nation building. Such sentiment was particularly strong in the prairie provinces. In Manitoba, the provincial government, dominated by English-speaking Protestants, succeeded in destroying the rights of Roman Catholics to state-supported denominational schools, despite what appeared to be constitutional guarantees.[3] In the old North-West Territories, church control of schools had been slowly but effectively curtailed and, although religious minorities in Alberta and Saskatchewan were finally guaranteed the right to separate schools, control of education was clearly vested with the government.[4] Such successes encouraged the proponents of common schools to press for further standardization.

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[3] Paul Crunican, Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

Having made some gains on the religious front, the supporters of common schools next turned their attention to the language question. In 1912, under a order known as Regulation 17, Ontario limited the use of French in the public schools of that province. Despite a controversy which raged for the next five years, the outcome favored the government.[5] Manitoba followed suit and, in 1916, abolished the complicated system of bilingual schools which had been established under the 1896 Laurier-Greenway settlement. In 1918 Saskatchewan also moved in this direction by discontinuing the right enjoyed by children from non-English and non-French speaking homes to be instructed in their mother tongues in the primary grades.[6]

While these developments were taking place within the various provinces, there were also some interprovincial attempts to establish standardization. In 1909 the ministers of education of the prairie provinces began discussions on the possibility of standardizing the educational systems of these provinces. By 1915 these meetings had been expanded to include British Columbia. The ministers or their representatives concerned themselves solely with the administrative aspects of schooling. Attempts were made to establish some coordination between the various provinces' systems of education. Curricula, textbooks and qualifications of teachers were the main points of agreement. The possibility of developing textbooks which would meet the specific needs of Western Canada was even discussed.[7] These meetings did result in some concrete developments; for example, agreement was reached on minimum admission requirements and training periods for teacher training and on a program of sharing the expenses and services of summer school lecturers.[8] Such changes, although improving the efficiency of public schooling from an administrative standpoint, did not appear to address the larger question of developing a Canadian identity.

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[4] Manoly R. Lupul, The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada 1875-1905 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

[5] Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," Canadian Historical Review, XLVII (September, 1966), 227-248.

Margaret Prang, "Clerics, Politicians, and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910-1917," Canadian Historical Review, XLI (December, 1960), 281-307.

[6] Saskatchewan, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1918 (Regina: King's Printer, 1919), p. 10.

The Dominion Education Association, which had been formed in 1891, had, at first, appeared to be interested in this subject. At its 1892 conference a motion had been approved to encourage the writing and adoption of a standardized history of Canada as a means of unifying the provinces and fostering a spirit of nationalism. A competition was held, a book was published and adopted by the departments of education of several provinces. The Association does not seem to have followed up on this and when this book became outdated and was discontinued no effort was made to replace it.[9] When, in 1918, the meeting of the (renamed) Canadian Education Association debated the question of adoption of common school textbooks by Canadian provinces, the discussion revolved around economy and convenience to pupils moving between provinces rather than questions of Canadian unity, citizenship training, or nationalism.[10]

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[7] Saskatchewan Archives Board, Martin Papers, Inter-Provincial Conferences 1915-1919, pp. 17363-17406.

[8] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1919 (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1920), pp. 26, 30.

The only other nation-wide educational body in existence in Canada before the end of World War I was the National Conference of Canadian Universities. Formed in 1911 by nineteen member institutions, it concerned itself only with problems pertaining to the operation of universities in Canada, showing little interest in Canadian education in general or even in questions of the use of the universities of Canada to promote Canadianism.[11]

This does not mean that some members of the Canadian academic community were not interested in this issue. Robert Falconer, the President of the University of Toronto, in 1915 published a book which emphasized the importance of education's role in the shaping of national character. He called on Canadians to turn their attention to the reconciliation of such issues as majority rule and minority rights, imperialism, and autonomy, and republicanism and monarchism. He also raised questions about the role of the school in character development and moral education.[12] While clearly laying bare the problems facing Canada, Falconer did not present any plan of action for resolving them. He made it quite clear, however, that Canada should avoid the mistakes that he felt Germany had made in developing educational policies which had resulted in World War I.

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[9] Freeman K. Stewart, Interprovincial Cooperation in Education: The Story of the Canadian Education Association (Toronto: W. J. Gage Limited, 1957), pp. 13-14.

[10] Canadian Education Association (Hereinafter abbreviated CEA), Proceedings of the Tenth Convention (Ottawa, 1918), pp. 55-69.

[11] Leo M. Desmarteau, "Birth and Growth of Educational Collaboration in Canada, 1867-1970" (unpublished manuscript, 1970) p. 27.

The First World War exacerbated many tensions which already existed in Canada. The relatively widespread support the war effort enjoyed in August, 1914, did not last. Real and imagined mismanagement of the war effort by Sir Robert Borden's government led to an estrangement of French-Canadians which was deepened by the anti-French educational moves in Ontario and Manitoba.[13] The Wartime Election Act of 1917 strengthened the power of English-speaking Canadians by enfranchising the female relatives of servicemen while at the same time depriving many New Canadians of the vote. The Military Service Act of the same year further extended the ethnic cleavages in the country by introducing conscription, a move opposed by many Canadians not of British origin. Canada faced growing regional antagonism, farm and labour protests and anti-conscription riots.[14] By 1917 the problems which Falconer had described demanded solutions.

The impact of the war on Canada was not entirely divisive. Six hundred thousand Canadians were brought together in the armed forces, many coming in contact with Canadians from other regions of the country for the first time in their lives. Prime Minister Robert Borden's government, instead of integrating these troops with imperial forces, formed the Canadian Corps and appointed a Canadian, Sir Arthur Currie, to command them. As the news of the battle honours of these Canadian forces reached Canada, civilians developed a focal point for their pride, something which they had lacked until then. The battle of Vimy Ridge on April 9, 1917, was particularly significant, becoming a touchstone for Canadian nationalist sentiment.[15]

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[12] R[obert] A. Falconer, The German Tragedy and its Meaning for Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1915), passim.

[13] Donald Creighton, Canada's First Century 1867-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 142-144.

[14] Kenneth McNaught, The Pelican History of Canada (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 219.

Meanwhile, the cost and effort required to pursue the war led to a strengthening of Ottawa's role in the Canadian federation. The legislative and economic powers amassed by the central government at this time provided both an immediate counterbalance to the regional and ethnic divisions of the country and also illustrated the potential power of the federal government. For those interested in promoting national awareness and national unity this provided a model for their desire to expand federal powers into the field of education.

Such hopes were not entirely unfounded. In 1913 the federal government had become involved in the field of education by passing the Agricultural Instruction Act by which $10,000,000 in federal funds was to be distributed to the provinces to assist in agricultural education programs. Besides this, a number of major changes in Canadian society resulted, directly or indirectly, from the war. Increased industrial ization, the enfranchisement and widespread employment of women, and prohibition were all attributable, to some extent, to the war. If these changes were possible, then so were changes in Canadian educational policies to enable the schools to become the agencies for planned and orderly change in Canadian society.

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[15] ". . . the Allies, after so long being starved of success, were inclined to exaggerate the importance of this splendid, but minor, victory. Vimy Ridge became a symbol of Canadian achievement, and the pride engendered on the bloody slopes of that commanding hill did much to bring Canada to full nationhood." Roger Graham, "Through the First World War," in The Canadians 1867-1967, ed. by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967) p. 181.

The first step in this direction was not a national but a provincial one. The province of Saskatchewan in June, 1917, passed an Order in Council authorizing a survey of its educational system by Harold W. Foght, a specialist in rural education from the Bureau of Education in Washington, D.C. Foght's comments and recommendations (not unnaturally) reflected the views currently held in the United States, giving no indication that Saskatchewan was not just another state. With regard to the population he stated:

> 54.5 per cent of the population are of British and Anglo-American origin. The other 45.5 per cent have been gathered in from the four corners of the earth. At best it will be a slow process to Canadianise so large a per cent of foreign born.[16]

Although he talked of "Canadian standards and ideals," no where did he define these terms. Because he saw no need to "Canadianise" those from the United States, he obviously perceived no difference between the two countries or cultures. For the "alien", however: "Patiently, sympathetically, but firmly, he must be led - and by teachers of highest Canadian ideals, who have special fitness and training for this problem."[17]

Similarly his approach to the question of separate schools showed a lack of understanding of the differences between the two countries. He personally opposed separate schools, but he cautioned against restrictive legislative action. Instead, he urged:

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[16] Harold W. Foght, A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan, Canada (Regina: Saskatchewan Department of Education, 1918), P. 13.

[17] Ibid., p. 19.

> . . . patience to wait for the time when both sides will see the wisdom of pooling their interests for the common good of their children. Sooner or later the minority will see that since their interests are already safeguarded by law, they are unfair to their children in adhering to a separation of public educational provision that necessarily reduces the effectiveness of all education in the community, their own children's most of all.[18]

These attitudes appear to have been quite as widespread among some Canadians as they were south of the border. William J. Sisler, a Winnipeg teacher with a great deal of experience in teaching immigrant children, had long decried the practice of teaching such children to read in their mother tongue before teaching them English.[19] In Alberta, the legislature unanimously supported a bill opposing bilingualism in Alberta schools.[20] In February, 1918, following Foght's report, Saskatchewan school trustees voted overwhelmingly to abolish the teaching of "foreign languages" in Saskatchewan schools. When the Saskatchewan government moved to prevent non-English and non-French children from receiving primary instruction in their mother tongue, the leader of the opposition tried to have French abolished as well.[21] The desire to emulate the school policies which had, apparently, been so successful in the United States, was quite strong across the prairies.

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[18] Ibid., pp. 143-144.

[19] See William J. Sisler, Western School Journal, I-XXIX (1906-1935), passim.

[20] Charles Bruce Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada (Toronto: Dent, 1917), pp. 212-213. The resolution also stated that this was ". . . subject to the provisions of any law now in force in the province of Alberta on that behalf." This clause, in effect, allowed some bilingual instruction to continue.

[21] R. A. Wilson, "The Educational Survey of Saskatchewan," Queen's Quarterly, XXVI, No. 3. (1919), pp. 327-328.

This feeling also existed in other parts of the country. At the 1917 Dominion Education Association Convention a concern was expressed about the ". . . influx of foreigners which would follow the conclusion of the war and who would need to be instructed in Canadian ideals."[22]

A Moral Crusade

But what were these "Canadian ideals"? William John Bulman, the chairman of the Winnipeg school board, had grown increasingly concerned with the lack of Canadian ideals which he felt resulted from a lack of direction in Canadian education. In early 1917 he approached Daniel McIntyre, the superintendent of Winnipeg schools, and William Albert McIntyre, the principal of the Provincial Normal School, with the idea of attempting to remedy this situation. Finding that they were in agreement, the three men decided to enlist others to their cause. They decided that a reformation of Canadian schools and society was primarily a question of moral education or character formation. Accordingly, they first approached Archbishop Samuel Pritchard Matheson of Winnipeg, the Anglican Primate of All Canada, and Manitoba's Lieutenant Governor, Sir James Aikins, who had served as Canada's representative at the 1912 Hague International Congress on Moral Education. Both were enthusiastic and it was agreed to hold a meeting of prominent Manitobans to discuss the situation.

While these initial discussions were taking place, Rev. Samuel

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[22] Dr. J. F. White, quoted in Stewart, Inter-Provincial Cooperation, p. 28.

Dwight Chown, the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Canada, arrived in Winnipeg on a tour of the West. William Bulman arranged for a meeting between Archbishop Matheson, Dr. Chown and Rev. Andrew Browning Baird, the Winnipeg clergyman who was then the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, to discuss the possibility of the formation of a united religious front to work for the introduction of moral education into Canadian public schools. A strong belief existed that the proper combination of action and idealism could result in the reform of Canadian society.

Having obtained the blessings of leading Protestant churchmen, the group then turned to involving the intellectual leaders in western Canada. Bulman and Aikens approached President James Alexander MacLean of the University of Manitoba and persuaded him to lend the support of his institution to the movement. Chown was asked to visit the presidents of the three other western universities in the course of his trip. He found that these men, and other business and religious leaders with whom he spoke, felt that such a movement was necessary to overcome

> . . . mammonism which threatens the very fabric of Canadian society, and also the need of imparting to foreign peoples the foundations for democracy and such ideals of citizenship as will make them worthy to bear the burdens of government in this new land.[23]

On March 27, 1917, Lieutenant-Governor Aikins hosted a dinner at Government House for a group of Winnipeg's most influential citizens. The purpose of this meeting was: ". . . to consider the best means of utilizing the schools all over the Dominion for the production of a higher type of citizenship and national character and the promotion of national unity".[24] The response was overwhelming; only two of the thirty-seven invited guests failed to attend and even they sent notes of apology, expressing an interest in the topic and a willingness to participate in any future meetings.

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[23] Memorandum re. Education in Citizenship Through the Schools (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.) (Hereinafter referred to as Memorandum), p. 48.

The discussion was dominated by a general concern for the lack of effective moral education in the schools.[25] W. A. McIntyre attributed the behaviour of Germany to a lack of moral training in their otherwise efficient school system. This idea was supported by Lieutenant-Governor Aikins who felt that Germany was characterized by a lack of religious education and that such education was closely linked to morality. Aikins advocated the initiation of a movement to develop a program of religious and moral education which would allow Canada to become the leading moral influence on the continent.[26]

Although there was agreement on the existence of a problem, even among the clergymen present there was not complete agreement on the practicability of a plan of moral and/or religious education in the public schools. Chown said that he

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[24] Winnipeg Free Press, Professor F. W. Osborne file, May 31, 1918.

[25] This view was not shared by Dr. Daniel McIntyre, the superintendent of schools in Winnipeg. While supporting the need for citizenship training, McIntyre claimed that the underlying principle of discipline and education in the public schools was "Right v.s. Wrong" and that ". . . the greatest training in such principles had been given in the schools." Memorandum, p.3.

[26] Although American schools were not mentioned at this meeting, the only open criticism being of the schools of Germany, implied throughout the meeting was the sense that Canadians could develop a Canadian identity which was morally superior to the citizenship and identity created in American schools.

> . . . did not think that the Bible could be put in the schools, nor could religion be taught in the schools, but he believed that the ethics of Christ could be universally accepted. He found the Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican principles not to be in opposition and he believed the Jews would be in accord in all essentials, and that Roman Catholic co-operation might be assumed if the plan was worked out on broad lines.[27]

Archbishop Matheson, on the other hand, ". . . was not sure that ethics could be taught successfully and at the same time hide Christ."[28] Baird agreed and questioned the feasibility of such an undertaking, claiming, "Previous schemes with the same end in view had fallen down because of practical difficulties."[29]

Daniel McIntyre, at this point, brought forth a proposal which, he hoped, would attack the problem while avoiding the pitfalls into which previous attempts had fallen. He proposed the establishment of a body composed of the ". . . best available talent in the English-speaking world. . .". He claimed that the members of such a council could, on a full time basis, concentrate their thoughts and efforts on the problems facing Canadian education. This body, it was hoped, would be able to recommend methods of using the schools as a means of improving the quality of Canadian citizenship while avoiding disputes over religion in the public schools.[30]

There was general agreement that the proposal merited further consideration and a committee was struck to undertake this. The committee, chaired by Bulman and including Matheson, Chown, Baird and a number of laymen, was charged with the responsibility of considering what practical steps could be taken to further the aims agreed upon by the meeting, and with reporting back to a subsequent meeting.

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[27] Memorandum, p. 3.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., p. 4.

[30] Ibid.

The meeting then turned to the question of gaining nation-wide acceptance of a program of moral reform. Bulman suggested the holding of a national conference to discuss the establishment of a council such as that proposed by McIntyre. The meeting concurred and suggested that if this were to be done successfully that preparatory meetings should be held in other large centres of Canada.

The general tone of the meeting tended to be both idealistic and paternalistic. Without looking carefully at historical developments, most of those in attendence were in agreement that the ". . . school was unquestionably the best medium now imparting moral instruction."[31] Although representing only English-speaking Protestant businessmen, clergy and professionals, these men assumed that their view of Canada should be readily acceptable to Canadians of all religions, social classes and ethnic origins. Few practical suggestions were brought forward by this meeting, however, to help heal the rifts in Canadian society. The paternalism of the meeting was best summed up by Chown who saw one of the chief values of such a movement as fostering the teachings of the ethics of Christ ". . . to give the foreign-speaking people of the West the proper ideals of truth and integrity."[32] That these "foreign-speaking people" might already have some of these qualities does not seem to have been considered.

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[31] _Ibid_.

[32] _Ibid_., p. 3.

One of the participants, Professor William Frederick Osborne of the University of Manitoba, did sound a warning note. He argued that the movement should avoid representing only one segment of society and urged the inclusion of representatives of all Canadians. Such a warning was indeed timely. Osborne, as a teacher of French, was aware of the anger among non-English Manitobans over the recent changes in the language regulations in the public schools, changes which were aimed at many of the same people who had been deprived of state support for their church schools two decades earlier. The attitude of those attending the meeting was quite clear: despite the fact that Winnipeg had three Catholic bishops, there is no indication that any attempt had been made to include them or any other influential Catholics in the scheme. The meeting made no effort to heed Osborne's warning, a failure which was to have significant results later.

Osborne also appeared to be the only participant who was more interested in the educational than the religious aspects of the undertaking. Having been born and raised in Quebec, he realized the dangers involved in discussing long range goals which could only serve to widen the existing rifts in the country. He felt, however, that there were many areas of agreement in Canada which, if properly approached, could serve to unite the country. For example, he raised the issue of improving the quality of textbooks as a practical goal which could be achieved by the cooperation of all Canadians.

Such cooperation was itself difficult to achieve, tensions were still evident in Canadian society, not only between Catholics and Protestants but even amongst Protestants. The social gospel movement still had a great deal of support in Western Canada, often to the dismay of the more conservative members of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. As the scope of the undertaking became more evident, at least one of the original members, W. A. McIntyre, gave notice of his support of an educational application of the social gospel. Two days after the meeting he wrote Bulman that, after having given the idea more thought, he had concluded that the improvement of the quality of Canadian citizenship required other steps in addition to moral education in the schools.

McIntyre suggested undertaking an examination of economic conditions and business practices with a view to applying the high ideals which the meeting had discussed to the business world ". . . with suggestions for overcoming wrong and injustice."[33] He was also concerned about the promotion of proper living conditions, child rearing and physical development as a means of preventing "moral degeneracy and feeble mindedness." He called for an inquiry into control and conditions of young Canadians in homes, schools, shops and factories to determine causes of undesirable behaviour. Bulman's reaction is not available but he later declared:

> . . . the sole idea we had in mind in the early days . . . was that, if every Canadian school child completely understood the ethics of Christ, we would have a nation that would be the moral force in this North American Continent. We believed that it was of little use trying to change the character or nature of men of mature age. We believed, however, that the character of this country could be modelled in the public schools of this country.[34]

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[34] National Council of Education, (Hereinafter abbreviated NCE), *Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship* (Winnipeg: National Council of Education, 1919), p. 126.

It is unlikely that he, or other businessmen, would favour a programme such as the one McIntyre wished to see.

On April 3, 1917, the committee (now called the Committee on Moral Education) met to plan their approach. A finance sub-committee, chaired by W. J. Bulman, was established and charged with the immediate responsibility of providing funds to promote their plans.[35] A second sub-committee, consisting of Daniel McIntyre and W. A. McIntyre, was set up to contact desirable speakers for the proposed conference. The committee was particularly interested in obtaining the services of Sir Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University and one of the leading experts in the fields of both moral education and comparative education. It was also decided that a deputation from the Winnipeg group should visit all of the larger centres in Canada in order to stir up interest in the movement and to form local committees similar to the one in Winnipeg to cooperate in staging the conference. Archbishop Matheson announced that he and Chown had already arranged for such a meeting of representative Toronto men to discuss the Winnipeg proposals.

At this meeting of interested Torontonians, chaired by Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, Chown and Archbishop Matheson outlined the Winnipeg plan. A memorandum, drawn up by the Committee on Moral Education, calling for the endowment of a foundation to finance the proposed council, was distributed.[36] After a great deal of discussion, the meeting adjourned in order to call a larger more representative meeting.

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[35] Other members on this finance committee were [Daniel David] Wood, Mr. Lambert, Sir James Aikins and Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon. Public Archives of Canada (hereinafter abbreviated PAC), Willison Papers, Vol. V. File 42, Letter, W. J. Bulman to J. S. Willison, December 4, 1918.

This second Toronto meeting, on April 24, 1917, agreed with the Winnipeg group that Canada faced an educational crisis, concurred with the establishment of local committees to engage in preliminary study, agreed to cooperate with the Winnipeg Committee in holding a conference, and approved of inviting Michael Sadler to take part as the keynote speaker. This meeting suggested that the Winnipeg Committee should fund the proposed conference, but the conference should then attempt to establish a foundation. The proceeds of this proposed fund of at least $2,000,000 could then provide $100,000 per annum to ". . . support a number of experts who would give all their time to the preparation of suitable literature."[37] The meeting established a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Falconer to assist Bulman's group in organizing the conference and instructed Chown, who was travelling to London, to visit Sadler and ask his assistance in launching the movement.

In June, 1917, Chown visited England and, armed with a letter of introduction from the Duke of Devonshire, Canada's Governor-General, he visited Sir Michael Sadler. Sadler was less enthusiastic about the plan than the Canadians had hoped he would be. Because of the war, he had modified his views on the value of moral education. Besides, he said, if a program of moral education was to be successful, it required good teachers more than guest lecturers. He also stressed the importance of history texts, which, he said, should be re-written so that they would be permeated with ". . . the highest type of patriotism."[38] In addition, he had undertaken an agreement with the government of India to serve on the Calcutta University Commission in the winter of 1917-1918. He promised to visit Canada in March, 1918, on his way back to England, if time permitted.

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[36] Ontario Archives, H. J. Cody Papers, V, Education, Special Papers, Religious Education, April 1917. See Appendix A.

[37] Memorandum, p. 49.

Chown and Henry Marshall Tory, the President of the University of Alberta, who was in England on behalf of the Khaki University, visited the Secretary of the Moral Education League of Great Britain. The League, which received the support of British Catholics as well as Protestants, sponsored a teachers' magazine, summer courses to improve the quality of teachers and pioneered attempts to teach ethics by indirect methods. Despite such promising activities, Chown's conclusions about the applicability of the League's work to Canada was:

> . . . that there is a unity of conviction as between the Old Land and our own concerning the principles involved. In that sense we can learn very little from them, and inasmuch as the application of these principles is so intimate to the peculiar problems which face us as a Canadian people, I am convinced that we must work out our own salvation in that realm.[39]

At the next meeting of the Winnipeg Committee, on May 23, 1917, the finance sub-committee announced that pledges of $5,000.00 had been raised to promote the conference. Thus financed, the committee sent Professor W. F. Osborne to spend two weeks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick advancing the project.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 50.

The Maritime Tour

Because no initial organizational work had been done in the Maritimes, the suggested two weeks proved totally inadequate. In each of the ten centres[40] he visited, Osborne had to contact prominent citizens, draw up lists of people who might be interested in the cause, make arrangements for meetings, make presentations, take notes, attempt to establish local committees and report the results back to Winnipeg. The work in this promotion campaign took three times as long as the Winnipeg Committee had initially anticipated.

During the six weeks that Osborne spent in the Maritimes he spoke to nearly two hundred of the leading men in the three provinces. His initial contacts were the Lieutenant-Governors and Anglican bishops, to whom he had letters of introduction from Aikins and Matheson, and academics whom he knew personally. It was with the assistance of these men that the lists of potential contacts were drawn up. While it was policy to exclude politicians, planners were careful to balance the political make-up of the meetings by inviting equal numbers of Liberals and Conservatives.

In other respects, however, there were serious imbalances. At least thirty-six of the one hundred and ninety-three participants mentioned in Osborne's reports were associated with universities. Despite the avowed intention of the Winnipeg Committee to create a lay organization, the Protestant clergy were also strongly in evidence at the gatherings. Twenty-seven of the representatives at these meetings, (not counting clerical faculty members of denominational universities) were clergymen. The bulk of the others were business and professional men. The people invited to attend the meetings did not include representatives of such groups as labour unions and women's organizations.

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[40] Fredericton, Saint John, Wolfville, Windsor, Halifax, Charlottetown, New Glasgow, Amherst, Moncton and Sackville.

Despite the avowed intent of the Winnipeg committee to create as large and as representative a base as possible on which to build their program and, despite Osborne's own expression of concern at the Winnipeg meeting, there is no indication of any attempt to include Catholics in the early meetings. Dr. Archibald, the principal of the Acadia Collegiate Academy, raised this issue and suggested that the Catholics should be included in the project and went on to recommend that Osborne approach the "enlightened men" at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish.[41] They were not approached, however, and it was not until the Halifax meeting, when the Maritime tour was almost half completed, that Catholics were even invited to participate in the meetings.

By this time, the damage had already been done. Catholics, remembering only too clearly the results of the Manitoba school dispute, were highly suspicious of this proposal by leading Manitoba Protestants to include the teaching of Christian ethics in public school systems. Catholic apprehensions had been raised the previous year by the part that Protestant clergymen in New Brunswick had played in attempting to have a program of Bible reading, study and memorization made compulsory in all schools in the province. The Catholic hierarchy had refused to entertain the proposal, claiming that it was a means of promoting the Protestant doctrine of private interpretation of the scriptures.

No Catholic clergy, therefore, took part in any of Osborne's meetings in the Maritimes and no attempt was made by him to visit any of the Catholic college towns. A handful of Catholic laymen did attend the meetings in Amherst and Moncton. Their reactions to the proposal were quite positive; one observed, "To do this thing would only be applying the Catholic policy to all the schools, and to that I certainly would not object."[42]

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[41] Memorandum, p. 21.

The plan was not greeted with such enthusiasm by everyone, however. The exact aims of the movement were not clear (even to the Winnipeg organizers), and many of the men who attended Osborne's meetings expressed concern about the desirability of introducing religion into the schools, the feasibility of introducing it and the practicality of attempting to promote moral and ethical training in the schools without religion. Because there was widespread agreement among the participants that there was a need to improve the ethical aspects of Canadian education, such fears were somewhat allayed by Osborne's assurance that ". . . ethical principles based on the spirit and practice of Jesus, [were] to be conveyed by the whole content of subjects of instruction."[43] Ethics, Osborne maintained, were not to be appended as an addition to education but would be part of the whole process.

He also found widespread criticism of the textbooks in use in the schools which gave him the opportunity to point out that the organization that the Winnipeg committee was recommending would be able to develop ". . . a set of textbooks that would be flushed full, inferentially, with the spirit of Christian ethics."[44] William S. Carter, New

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[42] W. L. Ormond, Amherst, N. S., quoted in Memorandum, p. 39.

[43] Memorandum, p. 9.

[44] Ibid.

Brunswick's Superintendent of Education and the President of the Dominion Education Association, objected ". . . that textbooks should not be made to order but should be the work of insight, leisure and genius."[45] These criteria, Osborne argued, could be more easily met by the proposed bureau than by commercial methods.

Throughout the Maritime tour, while a genuine concern was expressed about the direction that society as a whole was taking, the participants were primarily interested in improving the quality of schooling as a means of improving the quality of citizenship. There was widespread recognition of the efficiency and effectiveness of the educational programs in other countries. While this efficiency was admired, none of the speakers advocated Canadian adoption of such programs. The thrust was, rather, that Canadians should learn ". . . to combine the spirit of the allies with the efficiency of Germany."[46] The programs in the schools of the United States which had been so successful in making American citizens were also recognized and there was a desire ". . . to make Canadian schools a centre for developing Christian citizens."[47] Such attitudes appear to have been widespread. There was general agreement that a common standard of citizenship based on ethical behavior was necessary, but there was a hesitancy to define this behavior too clearly. An acceptable standard of practice, it was expected, would result from an effective program of moral education in the schools. The expectation seemed to be, however, that this behavior itself would not be rigidly standardized - an aspect of German, Japanese, and American practice which was not held in high regard.

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[45] Ibid., p. 11. Carter obviously disapproved or was not aware of the Canadian Education Association's venture into the textbook field in the 1890's. See p. 23.

[46] Wilfred Currier Keirstead, University of New Brunswick, quoted in Memorandum, pp. 12-13.

[47] Rev. G. W. Miller, Wolfville, N. S., quoted in Memorandum, p. 21.

Widespread agreement seems to have been reached that some form of federal bureau of education could enhance Canadian unity. There, however, agreement ended! Some defended provincial control of schooling, while others saw in the proposed bureau the genesis of a uniform federal system of education. Strangely, in view of the fact that Canada was in the grips of the conscription issue, that the Liberal Party was in the process of splitting along "racial" lines and that the repercussions from Ontario's Regulation 17 dispute had still not ceased, there was no mention of the language question. At the Moncton meeting there were four Acadian delegates present and Osborne ". . . took occasion to switch from English to French."[48] While other representatives at the meeting commented on the Acadians presence, there was no discussion of language as an issue in citizenship. The tenor of the discussion tended to recognize the existence of nation-wide problems and to express an earnest desire to resolve them. The hope was that a federal agency could achieve this.

The agreement that problems existed with Canadian schools inevitably led to criticisms of the existing school systems. Aside from a few comments on the decline in the quality of textbooks, these criticisms centred on the teachers. Teachers were seen by many as underpaid, transient, poorly trained and too young. There was also a widespread feeling that more men should be in the teaching profession. Even the defenders of the schools (most of whom were, in some way, associated with the educational system) agreed with these criticisms. Many representatives felt that these, and other short comings of the existing schools, should be discussed in the planned convention.

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[48] Memorandum, p. 43.

Not everyone, however, agreed that the convention or the proposed bureau, were worthwhile projects. Nearly half of the people invited to attend the meetings in the ten centres visited did not respond to the invitation. Considering that only those who were felt to have an interest in such a scheme were invited, the number opposed to, or indifferent to it appears to be quite substantial. In addition, there were a number of men present at the meetings who opposed the plan or part of it.[49]

One aspect of the Winnipeg plan which drew a measure of opposition in the Maritimes was that of inviting Michael Sadler from England to the conference and the suggestion that he should be asked to head the proposed bureau. One speaker warned about the danger of bringing in an Englishman whose point of view was so different from that of Canadians[50] and John Forrest, the President Emeritus of Dalhousie University, was even more critical, claiming that the English should be the ". . . last men to give us advice."[51] Osborne noted this opposition as ". . . quite a current of opinion . . ." and claimed that it ". . . was most noticeable among the Scotch [sic] element in Nova Scotia."[52] In New Glasgow, where this idea met the most opposition, one delegate suggested that rather than bringing in an Englishman, the committee should ". . . bring some big American."[53] This was not the first time that such a suggestion had been made; at the first meeting, in Fredericton, the names of John Dewey, the noted educational philosopher from Columbia University, and John R. Mott, the famous ecumenical leader and general secretary of the Y.M.C.A., were suggested as ideal men to head the proposed bureau.

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[49] In his final report to the Winnipeg Committee Osborne declared: "After ten group meetings, I can report that only two clearly dissident opinions were expressed - those of Dr. Allison and Dr. Forrest at Halifax." Memorandum, p. 45. The notes that he took at the meetings do show other opposition: one can only surmise that Osborne wrote this summary from memory after having been on his tour for five or six weeks and having sent the notes from meetings to the Winnipeg Committee.

[50] Rev. N. Harkness, Wolfville, N. S., quoted in Memorandum, p. 40.

[51] Dr. John Forrest, Halifax, N. S., quoted in Memorandum, p. 27.

There is no record of any discussion of what a non-Canadian, whether English or American, could offer Canadians regarding citizenship education. Rev. N. Harkness of Wolfville advised that only Canadians should constitute the proposed board but no one else appears to have been concerned about this issue. Other than reporting these remarks, Osborne made no recommendations to the Winnipeg Committee except to comment ". . . a conference should be held even if a noted man from outside the bounds of Canada is not available."[54]

Part of the opposition Osborne encountered arose because of confusion about the aims of the scheme. Many people assumed, both because of the use of such terms as ethical principles, moral education and Christian spirit, that the scheme intended to introduce religion into the schools. The meeting in Amherst, Nova Scotia, proved to be a turning point in this regard. This meeting was enthusiastic about the programme which it saw primarily in terms of citizenship education. Osborne noted this and stressed it in his final three meetings. Despite the fact that this was the only meeting which included Catholic representatives, there were no dissenting voices raised against the plan. In his final summary to the Winnipeg Committee, Osborne recommended that the initial theme of moral education be changed from moral education to "Ethical Citizenship".[55]

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[52] Memorandum, p. 45.

[53] John A. Cameron, New Glasgow, N. S. quoted in Memorandum, p. 40.

[54] Memorandum, p. 54.

At the conclusion of his Maritimes tour, Osborne was convinced of the value of proceeding with the conference and bureau. He forwarded to Bulman a list of contacts in each centre. With the exception of the Saint John group which appears to have taken the initiative in establishing some type of formal organization, the other committees all appear to have been selected by Osborne. The Saint John meeting also suggested that Lieutenant-Governor Josiah Wood be requested to act as the provincial coordinator of the movement. When Wood accepted this position, Osborne then made the same request in the other provinces. Lieutenant-Governor MacCallum Grant of Nova Scotia also accepted, but Lieutenant-Governor Augustine Colin McDonald of Prince Edward Island ". . . did not see his way clear to take active part . . ." and did not even attend the Charlottetown meeting.[56]

Looking back over the difficulties he had encountered in the tour, Osborne saw the enormity of the task that the Winnipeg committee had set for itself. He recommended that established organizations such as Canadian Clubs, Rotary Clubs and Boards of Trade, be utilized in order to contact other parts of the country. He further suggested that such groups be looked on as constituencies to send representatives to the planned conference.[57] The groups which he suggested, however, were still not representative of Canadian society as a whole; labour unions, farmers' organizations, churches and women's groups, for example, were not mentioned.

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[55] Ibid., p. 45. One immediate result of this recommendation was the change in the title of an information sheet produced by the organizers. When first issued in April, 1917, it was entitled "Memorandum of a Plan to Organize the Work of Moral Instruction in Schools." This was later changed to "Memorandum with Respect to Education in Citizenship Through the Schools."

[56] Memorandum, p. 32.

The Winnipeg Committee on Moral Education held its next meeting on October 12, 1917. After hearing reports from Osborne and Chown, the Committee voted to proceed with the conference in Winnipeg. March or April, 1918, was selected, to take advantage of Dr. Sadler's presence. The Board of Governors of the University of Manitoba was requested to release Professor Osborne from his duties to allow him to continue his promotional work throughout the Dominion. In a belated attempt to secure the co-operation of Catholics, Bulman, Chown, and Baird agreed to approach the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Winnipeg, Alfred Arthur Sinnot. (Osborne's success in his last three meetings, all of which had Catholic representatives, probably prompted this move.) The committee also decided now to attempt to enlist the support of provincial departments of education in the project.

The Final Preparations

The organization, which had proceeded well up until this point, now faltered. The federal election, which was called in the fall of 1917, absorbed the interests of many of the men who had become involved with this movement. Conscription was a central issue in the compaign and the pro-conscription stand of Chown reduced the possibility of the Committee succeeding in its aim to involve all Canadians to work toward greater Canadian unity. The war continued to drag on, taking up the time of men like Chown who was deeply involved in the Victory Loan Campaign. Bulman, the guiding spirit of the movement, was elected president of the Canadian Manufacturing Association, a task which, because of the wartime pressures, diverted his attentions away from the problems of education. Tory, the movement's primary contact in Alberta, was in England establishing the Khaki University. The University of Manitoba would not release Osborne for the 1917-1918 academic year and, therefore, the committee was not able to carry on its promotion in Central Canada or the West. Finally, Sadler notified Chown that his work in Calcutta was proving so onerous that he would not be able to come to Canada. The plans for the conference were postponed for one year.

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[57] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

In 1918, when the committee again returned to its planning, it was decided that some new approaches should be tried. The 1917 Maritime tour had been conducted quietly, the press being requested to refrain from publicizing the meetings so as to obtain as accurate a reaction as possible from leading citizens. In 1918, Osborne, recently appointed as the committee's general-secretary, resumed his campaign,

This time he attempted to obtain as much publicity as possible. Press response, both in news coverage and in editorial comment, was quite favourable. The Manitoba Free Press, for example, praised both the work already done and the goal of Bulman's group:

> The aim of this local committee is to assist in energising afresh the spirit of the schools of Canada. They are not thinking about the administration or the machinery of the schools, which is and will remain provincial in control, but the spirit, atmosphere and ideals. The schools should be increasingly regarded as the training-ground in which, under the eyes of the nation and with the explicit attention of the nation, the citizens of the future are shaped.[58]

This press coverage made Osborne's task much easier in Ontario. The Toronto committee was also of great assistance. Chown and Sir John Willison, a noted journalist and president of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association, provided him with letters of introduction to leading citizens in the centres Osborne was visiting. These individuals, in turn, were asked to draw up a list of representative residents and to arrange for meetings. This procedure reduced the amount of work that Osborne had to do himself and allowed him to organize twelve meetings in eight different southwestern Ontario centres in June, 1918.[59]

The response in Ontario was similar to that in the Maritimes the previous summer. There was general agreement with the concept of holding a conference and the creation of a nongovernmental bureau of education. Because of the press coverage and the changed name of the movement, far less confusion existed regarding its intended purpose and at the meetings not one voice was raised in opposition. There were a few speakers who were skeptical of the possibility of its ultimate success but all felt that the scheme was worth trying.

There were some evident differences between the make-up and the concerns of the Ontario and the Maritime meetings. In Ontario, a sizeable number of teachers and principals were in attendance and took an active part in the proceedings. They raised the issues of poor status and pay of teachers, the already heavy demands on schools and the tendency of society not to listen to educators. Feeling that the conference and bureau could improve the quality of education and their lot as well, they strongly endorsed the project.

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[58] Winnipeg Free Press, Professor W. H. Osborne file, June 7, 1978.

[59] Galt, Guelph, Stratford, St. Mary's, Brantford, London, St. Thomas and Woodstock.

In mid-1918, when Osborne began his Ontario tour, Canadian women in the five westernmost provinces had already received the vote in provincial elections. Many women had also gained the right to vote federally. Osborne stated:

> Realizing that women are now citizens in Canada, that one-half of the pupils are girls, and that perhaps 80 per cent of the teachers are women, I resolved to solicit the opportunity of putting our plan before the National Council of Women, meeting in Brantford.[60]

This meeting voted approval of the plan and offered to co-operate with the Winnipeg Committee in the undertaking.[61] Encouraged by the reaction of the delegates and by his private discussions with Margaret McWilliams of Winnipeg, Mrs. Fredrick Herbert Torrington and Adelaide Mary Plumptre, both of Toronto, Osborne decided to extend invitations to women to come to future organizational meetings as well. The women's representatives proved to be particularly interested in the program he outlined. Osborne was invited to address local women's clubs and in London, Ontario, a group of interested women even formed a separate women's committee of the movement.

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[60] Memorandum, p. 63.

[61] PAC, National Council of Women, Minutes June, 1918 - March, 1919, Minutes of the Annual Meeting, June, 1918, June 14, 1918, p. 73.

In one respect the Ontario tour differed little from the one the previous year - few Catholics were included. Priests did not appear to have been invited and only one layman was identified as a Catholic in the reports that Osborne sent back to Winnipeg. The Protestant clergy, on the other hand, were present in large numbers and were very active in their support of the plan. In London, Ontario, the Presbyterian General Assembly was in session and the moderator, A. B. Baird, allowed Osborne to address the delegates. This resulted in the body's committee on education passing a resolution favorable to the project.

One concern, evident in the Ontario meetings but which did not occur in the Maritimes, was an anxiety over ensuring the participation of Quebec. Apprehension was expressed about the difficulties that this would create but a number of speakers urged that an effort be made to include that province. Osborne's records do not reveal any lingering bitterness over the conscription issue nor any anti-French sentiment in the wake of the Regulation 17 dispute. One delegate even used Quebec as an exemplar for the rest of the country, praising the ". . . splendid new feeling in Quebec".[62]

Some of the Ontario meetings also addressed themselves to a matter of importance to Western Canada, what one representative called "the foreign problem". Some felt that the provincial school systems, by themselves, would not be able to develop "Canadians". They favoured a united approach to the question, stating: "The spirit of our schools must be national if we are to Canadianize our foreign fellow-citizens".[63]

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[62] James H. Coyne, St. Thomas, Ontario, quoted in Memorandum, p. 68.

[63] A. Roberts, St. Thomas, Ontario, quoted in Memorandum, p. 67.

Throughout the Ontario meetings, it was evident that Ontarians regarded the fostering of a "Canadian" spirit as crucial.

Whether it was the difference in regions, the one year time difference, the impact of the war or the change in focus due to the committee's change in name, the Ontario meetings appear to be more nationalistic than those of the Maritimes. The meetings on the 1917 tour had been concerned primarily with the character, ethics and morality aspects of citizenship; the 1918 meetings concentrated on the Canadianism, patriotism and civic responsibility aspects. In the speeches that Osborne recorded, there was a recurrent evidence of pride in Canada's war effort and a determination to pursue this spirit to develop a national consciousness. None of the meetings, however, showed any desire to slavishly follow the American example. As in the Maritimes, there appeared to be a hesitancy to prescribe what should constitute Canadianism, a recognition of the provincial and regional make-up of Canada and a willingness to tolerate some differences. One representative stated:

> The idea of developing a common Canadian Spirit is one that deserves great attention. . . . There must be some way of infusing the whole country with a common spirit, _even if forms vary_.[64]

Such tolerance, though, extended only so far - there seemed to be a tacit agreement on what constituted the necessary components of this common spirit. None of the participants doubted the dominant role that Anglo-Protestant middle class values should have in this Canadianism.

While the Ontario meetings reveal a strong current of nationalism, they were also markedly pro-British as well, with none of the anti-English sentiment so common in the Maritimes. Imperial citizenship was regarded as an essential element in the definition of Canadianism. In all of the Ontario meetings the term "British" was used interchangeably with "Canadian". One member even stated: "We don't want to educate Ontario or Stratford as such, but Canada and the Empire as such."[65] The toleration expressed in their views on Canadianism was probably linked to their concept of imperialism - if the Empire could exist and prosper with only certain common bonds, while at the same time allowing diversity in the various dominions and colonies, a country within that empire should be able to do the same.

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[64] James H. Coyne, _loc_. _cit_., p. 68.

To Franco-Ontarians, still smarting under Regulation 17, and to Catholic Ontarians striving to gain equality with the Protestants in Quebec, any talk of toleration of diversity was empty rhetoric. To them, tolerant sentiments were meaningless unless put into practice, and even the organization of the meetings did not portend any change in attitude on the part of leading members of Ontario society.

The test of the degree of tolerance the organizers had would have been evident in a tour of Quebec centres. This, however, did not materialize. At the end of June, Osborne met with Bulman in Toronto and agreed to interrupt his tour of central Canada on the suggestion of the Winnipeg Committee which felt that he should canvass the prairies before harvesting got underway. This move was also prompted by the desirability of arousing interest and activity in all parts of the country simultaneously so that his later return and renewal of activity in the East would ". . . only serve to confirm the public impression of the solidarity of the movement".[66]

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[65] Dr. (?) Silcox, Stratford, Ontario, quoted in Memorandum, p. 59.

The project had begun to take on a more organized appearance. Each of the eight centres Osborne had visited in Ontario had established committees to work toward the realization of the movement's goals. In contrast to the Maritimes where the committees were selected by Osborne, the Ontario groups were established by the people themselves. Osborne had also carried out a program of information through speeches at service club meetings in Ontario - an activity which heightened public awareness and interest in the idea.

The Winnipeg Committee had also been active. The Governor-General of Canada, the Duke of Devonshire, had been approached by the committee and he had agreed to allow the conference to be held under his patronage. Potential speakers had been contacted and a tentative program had been drawn up, including a number of well known Canadian, British and American speakers. Foreign governments were contacted and asked to send representatives to the conference.[67] Steps were also taken to arrange for financing the conference, the cost of which was estimated at $35,000. Letters were written to the Canadian Council of Agriculture and the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association asking them to share these costs.[68]

The suggestion of approaching the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association probably came from Bulman. An active member of the

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[66] Memorandum, p. 51.

[67] PAC, Willison Papers, Vol. V., Folder 42, Letter, P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, to W. F. Osborne, July 6, 1918.

[68] Memorandum, pp. 83, 84.

Conservative party and a prominent industrialist, he had been elected president of the Canadian Manufacturing Association in 1917. In this capacity he had become increasingly involved with the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association headed by Sir John Willison. This body was interested in planning for Canadian post-war industrial development and one of its goals was the federal adoption of an industrial or technical instruction act similar to the one which had been passed in 1913 to assist in agricultural training. Willison was one of the members of the Toronto Committee established by Chown and Matheson in 1917. He undoubtedly saw, in the proposed creation of a federal bureau of education, the potential for furthering the national educational aims of his own organization.

Although Willison and his Industrial Reconstruction Association were in favour of improving Canadian education,[69] the committee's hopes of receiving funding from them did not materialize. This was due in large part to the relationship between Willison and Quebec. One of the most influential journalists in the country, Willison was quite open about his views, many of which did not correspond with those of French-Canadians.[70] His one-sided view of Canada's linguistic and religious problems did not endear him to French-Canadians and, as a result, he felt that his advocacy of the Winnipeg scheme would endanger any hope of support from Quebec.[71] There is no record of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association ever seriously considering the Winnipeg project.

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[69] PAC, Willison Papers, Vol. V., Folder 239, Letter, W. F. Osborne to J. Willison, July 23, 1918.

[70] E.g. ". . . racial and religious issues are a temptation to public men, and more than once the country had been bedevilled by attempts to pervert the constitution and extort by political manoevering, concessions and privileges which are not sanctioned by the compact of union. It's not true, as Quebec has often been led to believe, that Ontario has ever sought to deprive French or Catholic minorities of any constitutional right . . . But let the dead past bury its dead and let all of us endeavour to recover the spirit in which the confederation was established half a century ago." John Willison, "From Month to Month," The Canadian Magazine, August, 1919, p. 328. See also, J. Willison, "Nationality and Empire," Canadian Club of Montreal, Season 1917-1918 (np: N.pub., N.d.), pp. 322-337.

The approach to the Canadian Council of Agriculture met no better luck. This organization had been formed in 1917 by the Manitoba and Saskatchewan Grain Growers Associations, the United Farmers of Alberta, the United Farmers of Ontario, some smaller co-operatives and the Grain Growers Guide. A progressive organization, one of its main thrusts was to oppose protective tariffs, combines and trusts. As a result, its officers would have felt little desire to assist the educational schemes of W. J. Bulman, President of the Canadian Manufacturing Association, which was strongly opposed to free trade and to co-ops. Nor would they have welcomed the prospect of cooperating with Willison's organization which was working at cross-purposes to their aims. No assistance was given by the Canadian Council of Agriculture to the Winnipeg Committee.

To this point the response from the provincial governments had not been too heartening either. The proceedings of the 1918 meeting of the Dominion Education Association (renamed at that meeting Canadian Education Association), which was composed largely of officials from provincial departments of education, show no discussion of the scheme. During his 1917 Maritime tour, Osborne had been invited by W. S. Carter, the president of the DEA, to present his conference proposal to the next meeting of the association. In discussing the proposal to create a new organization, however, Osborne had criticized the DEA, declaring that this body was not the type of ". . . great, powerful and influential meeting. . . that the committee envisaged."[72] This criticism could well have led the DEA to withdraw its invitation.

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[71] "The meeting in Montreal was not favorable to any consideration of your educational project. If I had submitted the proposal it would have been beaten. More than that we had two or three French Canadians at the meeting who were quite troublesome. I could tell you more than I care to write." PAC, Willison Papers, Vol. XIV, Folder 42, Letter, J. Willison to W. J. Bulman, November 4, 1918.

In August, 1918, Osborne made a brief two-week tour of six centres in southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[73] The reports of these meetings reveal enthusiastic endorsement of the scheme but record very little discussion. These centres, though welcoming the development of national spirit, did not appear to have been moved by the interests or concerns which were in evidence in the other two regions. Even the question of "Canadianization" does not appear to have been raised at these meetings (none of these centres were areas with sizable numbers of non-English speaking settlers.) Despite the lack of controversy, the attendance at the meetings was larger than at those held in either of the other regions and at each of the meetings the participants themselves moved to establish local committees to foster the plans of the Winnipeg group.

Osborne had found that his meetings with the Women's Canadian Club in London, Ontario, and the Brantford Rotary Club were as successful as those which had been arranged specifically to explain the Winnipeg plan. With the cooperation of the president of the Winnipeg Canadian Club, he arranged for fall speaking engagements with various Canadian Clubs and Women's Canadian Clubs in the large centres which he had not already visited.[74]

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[72] W. F. Osborne "A National Spirit and a National Outlook for Canadian Education," Addresses Delivered Before the Canadian Club of Toronto, Season of 1918-19 (Toronto: Warwick Brothers, 1919), pp. 47-57.

[73] Moosomin, Virden, Regina, Wolseley, Moose Jaw, and Swift Current.

In the speeches he gave to these clubs he expressed the belief that nations could shape their own destinies, that this could best be done through the education of children and that such an undertaking in Canada would require a national rather than a provincial approach. While stressing that the administration of Canadian education should remain provincial, he argued the need for a means of national educational communication and for annual national educational conferences. He decried the loss of able Canadians to the United States and blamed this on the lack of a "national esprit de corps", which he hoped could be developed through the establishment of a national bureau of education. He described this proposed body:

> . . . not as part of the government of the country, not as a branch of the government, but altogether aside from the government, by private endowment if you will, an unofficial, picture was that that board would consist of three or five of the biggest men that we could anywhere find who could be got to devote themselves to the stimulation of Canadian education.[75]

Although Osborne's speeches to these groups were well received, and although this arrangement eliminated the initial organizational effort required on his part, his message reached only members of these clubs. It also proved to inhibit organization because the participants, feeling that they were not a truly representative group, often hesitated to establish committees to carry on the work of the scheme at the local level. Osborne was, therefore, forced to call separate meetings in each centre to form local committees or to select local contact men to whom information could be forwarded.[76]

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[74] Toronto, Vancouver, Victoria, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon and Yorkton.

[75] Osborne, "A National Spirit. . .", p. 54.

The only incident of importance in Osborne's western tour in cooperation with the Canadian Clubs occurred in Victoria. Here, for the first time, a Catholic clergyman, Right Reverend Alexander MacDonald, the Bishop of Victoria, attended the meeting. He warmly approved of the proposed program and seconded the resolution of appreciation.[77] Unfortunately for the Winnipeg organizers, this last-minute participation by one Catholic bishop did little to ensure that others from that communion would look favorably on the scheme.

In the late winter and early spring of 1919 Osborne rounded out his promotion campaign by speaking to the people most closely involved with education. His speeches to conventions of trustees and teachers appear to have been similar to those given to the Canadian Clubs the previous fall. There is no record, however, of any attempt on his part to form committees from among these groups.[78] The intention seems to have been for all of the large centres in Canada to have local committees representing all segments of society to assist the Winnipeg group in arranging the conference.

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[76] The weakness in such an arrangement later became very evident in at least one centre. See below p. 71.

[77] Memorandum, p. 83.

[78] See, for example, Manitoba School Trustees Association. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention (Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1919), p. 9.

By the spring of 1919 the preparations for the convention had been completed. Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon, who had taken over as chairman of the finance sub-committees, had received pledges to cover the anticipated costs of the meeting. Local committees in most centres had arranged for the election of delegates and the Winnipeg committee had also asked a number of other organizations to send representatives.

Education for What End?

By the end of World War I, Canadians were exhibiting a visible pride in the country's wartime accomplishments, optimism about its future possibilities and a marked confusion about the direction that this future development should take.

In the political arena imperialism still held sway - an imperialism which appealed most strongly to those of British origin and which was often frankly racist in its outlook.[79] However, even many of the imperialists were forced to modify their attitude to recognize the now evident power of the United States. The American Revolution and the War of 1812 were rationalized away[80] as Canadians attempted to decide what their position should be vis-à-vis Britain and the United States.

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[79] See for example: "We are of the British Army, whether we come from Somerset or Ontario. By blood, by loyalty, by the skill of our hands and the pride of our hearts, we are as old as the fighting traditions of our race. . . . The breed is right. It is the same right breed now, in Haig's day, as it was in Wellington's day. Generations in far outposts of the Empire have not quenched, or even dimmed, the fire of the blood of that breed." Theodore Goodridge Roberts, "The Spirit of The Army," The Canadian Magazine, October, 1918, p. 504.

[80] See for example: ". . . Canadians fought against men of their own breed then - their very brothers - the men of the big, ambitious young Republic to the south. . . . That family - unpleasantness of long ago, almost forgotten during generations of mutual friendship and respect, is now burned out utterly and forever in the flame of this great war. The men of the big Republic fight shoulder to shoulder with us now. They are more than allies - for they, too, are of the

Canada, through such things as forming the Canadian Corps, signing the peace accord and gaining a place in the League of Nations, was developing a form of autonomy. Within the country, however, there was no unanimity as to what this meant. A lingering loyalty toward Britain, a growing admiration for the United States and a somewhat undefinable feeling of "Canadianism" were all present. There did appear to be an attitude of confidence, though, in the public schools' ability to play a key role in ensuring the success of whatever decisions were made.

Education with an imperial goal in mind was already a fact of Canada life and even many Canadian nationalists saw their nationalism within an imperial framework. School textbooks in English-Canada still reflected the legacy of the Irish National texts which Egerton Ryerson had introduced. A great deal of material dealt with the British Isles and the empire and very little emphasis was placed on Canada.[81] The Rhodes Scholarship Trust, under the direction of a leading Canadian imperialist, George Parkin, was seen as an ideal type of arrangement under which individuals with strong Canadian and imperial ties could be prepared for future positions of influence.[82] One author, noting the dearth of

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old, right breed. They are our brothers." Theodore Goodridge Roberts, "Battle Against Odds," The Canadian Magazine, November, 1918, p. 534.

[81] One author claimed: "The wonder is that the tender plant of Canadian nationalism survived at all, for all little Canadian boys and girls have been subjected from the day on which they start school to an unending steeping in the liquid of 'imperialism'. . .". Arthur R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada (Don Mills: Longmans, 1965), pp. 349-50.

[82] Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 213-215.

post-graduate facilities in Canada even advocated the establishment of an imperial graduate school in London as a means of uniting the empire.[83]

"Pure" nationalism was held in rather low regard at this time, probably a reflection of the latent anti-Americanism which always lay just beneath the surface in Canada and a reaction against the war which was blamed on the excessive nationalism of Germany. Canadians, therefore, looked on this "double loyalty" as a positive virtue. Excessive nationalism, it was felt, led to ". . . petty national jealousy, a thing from which big, warm-hearted Canada has always stood aloof."[84]

Not everyone was so convinced of Canadian superiority. One author criticized Canadian educational policies as being inappropriate to the professed goals of the society. North American schools, he claimed, were a hybrid containing the aims and ideals of Britain and the methods and mechanism of Prussia:

> . . . paternal in principle and militarist in formation.
> . . . .
> The system is supposed to be democratic in character, but a system which aims at moulding and making the lives of human units of uniform size, shape and colour, like so many bricks or stones to be fitted into a building, can scarcely truthfully call itself democratic.[85]

The democratic educational system envisaged by this author was one in which alternative schools or alternative school experiences would be provided within the public system.

A move in this direction had already begun prior to World War I.

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[83] Ira A. MacKay, "Educational Preparedness," The Canadian Magazine, February, 1919, pp. 816-17.

[84] Gwendolyn Macleod, "International Jealousy," The Canadian Magazine, February, 1920, p. 337.

[85] MacKay, op. cit., p. 810.

Curriculum changes during this period had introduced many new courses. Most of these were practical courses such as bookkeeping, agriculture, manual training and household science, courses designed for students who had not previously continued beyond elementary school. In 1913, after receiving the report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, the federal government had become involved with this aspect of schooling by passing the Agricultural Instruction Act. The Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association urged the implementation of that part of the report regarding technical education to assist in the industrial development of the country. Such changes were altering the schools but were doing nothing to address the issues of civic and moral education being raised by the members of the Winnipeg committee.

Canadian educators themselves did not appear very interested in addressing the thorny questions of moral education, citizenship training and national direction. The 1918 meeting of the only national body concerned with schooling, the Canadian Education Association, revealed a lack of interest among Canada's top educators in the problems facing education. Many scheduled speakers did not appear and some provincial delegates did not even bother to prepare reports. Tensions and pointed attacks were more evident than earnest discussion or information exchange during the sessions.[86] It is not surprising, therefore, that sentiment arose to create an educational body which would both represent all of Canada, and which would tackle the issues of individual and national growth.

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[86] Canadian Education Association, Proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Association (Ottawa, Ontario; November 20-22, 1918), passim.

Despite their unity on the idea of a national conference and the creation of a bureau of education, the Winnipeg men who were mainly responsible for promoting this scheme were not completely of one accord. While they were all interested in the question of moral education, there were many interpretations of what this involved. Aikins was interested solely in instruction in morals, Archbishop Matheson felt that this was futile unless it involved religious education and Chown believed that Canadian religions could agree on some basic principles and thus overcome religious objections. Bulman, the businessman, wanted the schools to stress the development of individual responsibilities, whereas W. A. MacIntyre, was more interested in identifying and rooting out social problems by emphasizing societal responsibility. Chown was calling for a standardization of citizenship by assimilating minorities whereas the more cautious Osborne wanted only short-range, practical goals on which all segments of Canadian society could agree. Many of these differences of opinion were contradictory and while cooperation was possible in order to hold a conference, continual cooperation to establish a bureau of education was unlikely.

As other areas of the country were included, other differences became visible. In the Maritimes, the marked anti-English and pro-American attitude was in sharp contrast to the imperialist sentiment found in south-western Ontario. Even in Ontario, many pro-British individuals who favoured imperial free trade found themselves opposed to the protectionist attitudes of the industrialist.[87] Farmers and other primary producers also tended to favour free trade, usually with an eye

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[87] Berger, op. cit., p. 262.

to obtaining inexpensive manufactured goods from the United States - an aim opposed by both the British imperialists and by the protectionist manufacturers. All of these segments of Canadian society, however, were agreed that Canada should be united in purpose and that the public schools should be the agency to achieve that end. How the proposed conference or bureau of education was going to achieve this goal, given the contradictory positions of individuals, regions and groups, was not specified.

There were, in addition, large segments of Canadian society not involved in these initial discussions. French-Canadians, New Canadians, union members and Catholics had all been largely overlooked by the organizers. These groups constituted a sizeable percentage of the Canadian population, often the very people that the organizers wished to influence. Yet they were not consulted at this stage. While contact had been made with farm groups, the contact did not call for a sharing of ideas, it was only a request that the Canadian Council of Agriculture should pay half of the cost of the proposed conference. Such an approach did not bode well for the success of the operation.

The Winnipeg scheme was a reflection of its time. The organizers, proud of Canada's wartime achievements and confident of continued future successes, set out to develop what they saw Canada as needing most - a national goal. Germany had, in the nineteenth century, defined for her citizens national standards of perfection in citizenship and set out to use the public schools to achieve acceptance of these goals. The Winnipeg committee hoped to define a "Canadian Ideal" based on " . . . humane and Christian ideals of sacrifice and unselfishness, of service and cooperation . . ." and to promote this deal through all Canadian schools.[88] Their pride, confidence and optimism, overshadowed the difficulties that such an undertaking would entail.

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[88] NCE, Retrospective: A Canadian Ideal in Education, Prospective (Winnipeg: NCE, 1922), p. 4.

Chapter 3

CONCLAVE FOR CIVIC RE-ARMAMENT

Canada in 1919 was not the Canada that the Winnipeg committee set out to reform two years earlier: the armistice had resulted in a number of changes in Canadian society. Concerns about the future of the country, which had been brought on by the stalemate on the western front in 1917, had given way to a hopeful post-war optimism. The country had begun to shift back to a peacetime operation.

This was not an easy transition: peace brought with it a host of labour problems. Production of war materials was no longer necessary and factories either had to close or face a major retooling process. Employees were thrown out of work just at a time when demobilized veterans were returning to the work force. During the war the pioneering stage of Canadian agriculture had drawn to a close, and many veterans found that increased farm mechanization had increased the size and the cost of farms. With few homestead lands left and a post-war slump in the price of agricultural products, it was not easy for them to return to farming; they were forced to look for work in urban areas.

These events corresponded with a rise in the militancy of workers. During the war, employees had been willing to accept poor working conditions, long hours and poor wages as part of their contribution to the war effort. When peace returned, many labourers felt that they should have some share in the profits which business interests had obtained during the war. Their ranks augmented by veterans educated in the strength of united effort and hardened by years in the trenches, the workers formed unions which demanded real changes in society.

Industrialists were far less willing to see society change. Frightened by the communist revolution in Russia and similar uprisings in Germany and Hungary, the manufacturers saw these demands as seditious attempts to overthrow the established order. Their refusal to treat with the workers led to a head-on conflict.

Although this clash was widespread, occurring in most major Canadian centres, it reached its pinnacle in Winnipeg. The Manitoba capital was the scene of a general strike in 1919 which, though it started innocently and peacefully enough, resulted in repression and riots, ended with bloodshed and imprisonment and left a legacy of suspicion and hostility.

This city, Winnipeg, was the site of the planned conference on moral education and citizenship which had been intended to transform Canadian society. By now the pressure to ensure the moral and civic education of all future citizens had declined but the need to settle the problems of education and of society were even greater than they had been two years earlier.

In its enthusiasm in 1917, the Winnipeg committee had seen this conference as the beginning of a major revitalization of Canadian life. Committee members hoped to draw on all segments of Canadian society and hoped to focus the attention of the conference on the country's problems. They hoped that the meeting would establish a new educational organization to undertake this work, would make provision for the funding of such an organization and would provide a series of constructive resolutions to guide it in its work.

Delegates and Financing

When the dates for the national educational conference had been fixed for October 20-22, 1919, the Winnipeg committee turned its attention to the completion of final arrangements. The problems of financing had been taken over by Rev. Dr. E. Leslie Pidgeon and the selection of delegates had been left to the local committees which Osborne had established across the country.

Pidgeon, the minister of Winnipeg's Augustine Presbyterian Church, had taken over as chairman of the finance subcommittee after William John Bulman's election to the presidency of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. He proved to be an admirable choice. He had lived in four of Canada's provinces and had been deeply involved in community activities in every city in which he had served. Committed to local improvement, he had become a member of the Rotary Club and had, in 1917-1918, completed a term as president of the international association. As a result, he not only had personal contacts across the country, he could also call on Canadian Rotary clubs for assistance.

Attempts at fund raising to finance the conference had not been too successful to this point. Five $1,000 contributions by interested Winnipegers[1] to promote the conference had been made during the first wave of enthusiasm in early 1917 but other sources of financing had not been found. Attempts had been made in 1918 to persuade the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association and the Canadian Council of Agriculture to jointly share the cost of hosting the Winnipeg conference. Since the Industrial Reconstruction Association was financed by Edward Wentworth Beatty, the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and since the Canadian Council of Agriculture was in the midst of a campaign to encourage the nationalization of transportation and communication facilities in the country, it is not surprising that this attempt failed.[2] Pidgeon was faced with the task of raising the entire $30,000 that it was estimated that the meeting would cost.

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[1] The contributors were Sir James Aikins, Manlius Bull, William John Bulman, Sir Augustus Nanton and Sidney Thomas Smith.

In order to raise these funds, Pidgeon made a nation-wide tour of Canadian cities.[3] His appeal was directed to individuals, corporations and to all Canadian Rotary Clubs. The Rotary Clubs proved to be his most fruitful contacts, with most local clubs pledging support. By the opening of the conference, he had obtained pledges in excess of $50,000. This amount, it was hoped, would leave a surplus of $25,000 to sustain the proposed new organization until the hoped for $2,000,000 foundation could be established.[4]

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[2] See above, p.56. What is surprising is that Bulman, as an executive member of both the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, would even approach the Canadian Council of Agriculture. The CAA had opposed the policies of both of these groups. See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), passim.

[3] Obituary, Montreal Gazette, February 2, 1946.

[4] Toronto Globe, October 24, 1919, p. 11.

While financing the conference did provide some problems, obtaining delegates did not, except for the size of the task. In an attempt to promote the conference and to enlist delegates, 25,000 letters were sent out to "Women's societies, community associations of every description, trades and labor councils, business organizations, church and school, civic, provincial and federal government bodies, [and] leaders in every field of national life . . . ."[5] The task of contacting the vast number of associations across the country was divided up so that invitations were sent from Winnipeg groups to sister organizations in other centres.[6]

The response varied, depending upon the state of the organizations contacted. Groups such as the National Council of Women had their delegates elected well in advance,[7] other groups were less efficient, especially those which Osborne had set up. Local committees had been established in most of the centres which Osborne had visited: some had been in existence for over two years before the conference was held. Unlike the Winnipeg group which had been actively involved in the preparations, many of these local groups, lacking any clear raison d'être, had suffered from a decline in enthusiasm. The weakness of these local committees is illustrated by the request by Hon. George P. Smith, Alberta's Minister of Education and chairman of the Edmonton local committee, to the Registrar of the University of Alberta only twelve days before the conference was due to begin, for representatives to attend the meeting on behalf of the Edmonton group.[8]

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[5] Manitoba Free Press, October 18, 1919, pp. 33-34.

[6] Winnipeg Rotary Club, Minutes of the Director's Meeting, September, 1919.

[7] Public Archives of Canada (Hereinafter abbreviated PAC), National Council of Women, Executive Committee Meeting, Regina, January 15, 1919, p. 415.

The Winnipeg organizers did try to ensure as representative a gathering as possible. While some clergymen were invited, there was an attempt to ensure that most representatives were laymen.[9] Despite the middle-class "establishment" make-up of the committee, efforts were made to persuade labour unions to send delegates. Although these efforts were being made at a time when Canadian labour, with good justification, was highly suspicious of Winnipeg business men, there does seem to have been some positive response. The conference proceedings do not contain a list of delegates, making it impossible to ascertain which groups sent representatives but at least three speakers were identified as being labour representatives.[10] Although no representatives of farmers' organizations were identified as such in the proceedings, both John Arch Maharg and Henry Wise Wood were in attendance.

The Winnipeg Conference

In terms of attendance the conference was an undoubted success. The organizers were, at first, afraid that the meeting would be dominated by local people and, to prevent this, they limited Winnipeg organizations to five delegates each while those outside of the city could send as many as they wished. Two days before the opening the organizers were anticipating 1,000 delegates:[11] in total, 1504 people registered at Winnipeg's Great Hall of the Board of Trade.[12] There was also widespread interest in the city: "The audience, consisting of the delegates and the general public, at no session fell below two thousand, while at one evening session it rose to five thousand."[13] Canada had held conferences of educators before, but this was the first attempt to focus the attention of all Canadians on the problems facing Canadian education. The issues obviously excited an interest on the part of the public. By the end of the second day the organizers had to urge delegates to arrive early and had to bar the doors to observers until half an hour before the sessions began.[14]

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[8] University of Alberta Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UAA), Tory Papers, 1107-1 (A), Letter, Hon. George P. Smith to Registrar, University of Alberta, October 8, 1919.

[9] UAA, Tory Papers, 1107-1 (A), Letter, J. A. Maclean to H. M. Tory, September 1, 1919.

[10] Tom Moore of Ottawa, Mrs. Corse of Calgary and Mrs. William Kirk of Winnipeg.

The three day conference, held under the patronage of the Governor General of Canada, His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, was entitled "A National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Citizenship." The organizers had been able to put together a very impressive programme. Although Michael Sadler was unable to attend, a number of other renowned individuals had been engaged. One British and four American speakers joined thirty-three prominent Canadians in addressing the delegates on various aspects of moral education, spiritual education, character formation and citizenship training. It was hoped that the speeches and the discussion of them would focus attention on the schools and would generate public support for the schools' efforts.

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[11] Manitoba Free Press, October 18, 1919, p. 33.

[12] "National Council of Education" Labour Gazette, 1919, p. 1373.

[13] National Council of Education, Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship (Hereinafter abbreviated Winnipeg Proceedings) (Winnipeg: National Council of Education, 1919), p. 4.

[14] Ibid., p. 72.

The speeches given can be divided into two broad categories: those given by the conference organizers or by educators and those which were given by clergymen and the invited celebrities. The former generally addressed themselves to specific issues and called upon the delegates to attempt to direct Canadian schools towards the solution of existing problems. They were concerned with such matters as compulsory schooling, education of immigrant children and the promotion of national pride. The latter usually spoke in glowing terms about Canadian wartime successes. They called for the perpetuation of wartime morale which could be applied to educational problems and made general remarks about the role that schools should play in the moral improvement of Canada.

Canada had just emerged from a long, hard-fought war and had done so, in the minds of many, very successfully. The war effort was looked upon by a sizeable number of people at the time as the capstone of Canadian development. One speaker declared:

> Up to the outbreak of the war it might be said that Canada lacked a full measure of national consciousness . . . The Confederation which took place in 1867, was on paper only. . . . It was necessary during the years to establish common lines of communication; establish common interests to bring together the people from the various parts of the Dominion. During these years, with the development of the country, this national consciousness was gathering force, and sprang into full blossom when the stress of the Great War demanded the united effort of the whole people.[15]

This was the first opportunity that a cross-section of Canadians had had since the ending of hostilities to meet and discuss past, present and future problems and achievements. Delegates proved to be in a self-congratulatory mood, proud of the achievements of the immediate past and not particularly willing to admit that the future could hold many difficulties.

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[15] Robert Stirton Thornton, quoted in Ibid., p. 11.

The conference organizers and the professional educators urged the delegates to look upon the war not as the fulfillment of Canadianism but only as the beginning of full Canadian nationhood. Sir James Aikins, in the opening address, asked Canadians to "think nationally" and to ". . . avoid chaos and intellectual and moral stagnation and bankruptcy in idealism that come from a lack of self-interest."[16] He urged them to set long-range goals for nation-building and described the schools as the vehicles for ensuring that Canadians built upon the sense of national direction which had grown as a result of the war.

Many of the delegates were quite satisfied to leave the schools in charge of moral development. They appeared to feel that in nation-building, as in war, victory had already been achieved. They expected the schools to reinforce these achievements but felt that no further adjustments or sacrifices should be expected from the people they represented. For this reason, delegates welcomed most heartily the more general speeches which called on the schools to develop within the youth of Canada the high moral spirit that Canadian troops were believed to have achieved in the trenches. They saw the conference as a celebration of the victory of correct ideals and as an opportunity for the reiteration of those ideals rather than a time for any concrete planning to overcome future problems.

The mood of the conference was one of firm self-confidence. Almost no mention was made of any problems outside the field of education.

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[16] Sir James Aikins, quoted in Ibid., p. 1.

Even the Winnipeg general strike, which had so upset the entire country only four months earlier that year, was only referred to very obliquely. The delegate from Calgary's Trades and Labour Council stated, "I am proud to know that labour men in Calgary are sufficently broad to realize that the education of our children is of more importance than any feeling they may have with respect to what occurred a few months ago."[17] Most delegates appeared to feel that the wartime victory was a vindication of all that they stood for.

This stance showed up most clearly in the discussion on the question of immigrants.[18] William H. Vance, a Vancouver delegate, received applause for his suggestion that immigration be limited and that the franchise should be restricted.[19] William J. Sisler, a Winnipeg principal who had been deeply involved in educating immigrants, agreed with this position and attacked both the teaching of "foreign" languages and the toleration of "foreign" societies in Canada.[20] There was similar wide audience support for these suggestions and for the call by Mrs. George H. Smith of St. Catharines, Ontario, the Educational Secretary of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, for a policy of Canadianization. This Canadianization, she said, would consist of ". . . one viewpoint, one thought, one feeling, one impulse." She left no doubt what this standardized citizen should be like. She wished all state, church and other agencies to work together:

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[17] Mrs. Corse, quoted in Ibid., p. 10.

[18] The term "immigrant" was not applied by the delegates to newcomers from either the British Isles or the United States. It was, however, used in referring to non-whites from other parts of the British Empire.

[19] Winnipeg Proceedings, p. 8.

[20] Ibid., pp. 102, 103.

> . . . to propagate the gospel of British ideals and institutions among the foreign-born, and to abolish from the map of our country those dark spots in which foreign sympathies, foreign thought and feeling are still maintained, to banish the old-world point of view, the old-world prejudices, the old-world suspicions, and to make our new Canadians one hundred per cent British in language, thought, feeling and impulse.[21]

Not all of the delegates felt this way, however, James Thomas Milton Anderson, Saskatchewan's Director of Education Among New Canadians and author of a book on the topic, reminded the delegates that these "foreigners", although ". . . born of non-English parents . . ." were actually Canadians, and therefore were entitled to fair play.[22] He called on Canadians to send their best teachers to assist these people in becoming good citizens. A knowledge of English, he felt, was an important part of this training, although he said that he did not feel that the state should attempt to abolish the use of other tongues.[23] The solution he posed was one of racial fusion which would occur naturally when the school had done its job well.

Other speakers went even further in this direction. Carrie Derick, a professor from McGill University, called for the recognition of the qualities that many New Canadians brought with them:

> We have, in our country, not only this rich individual variation, but also the great racial variation, which some day will be moulded into a great people, and by moulded I don't, for a moment, mean that it will be coerced into one form, which would be unnatural to them, but that they will take the form which will place their divers gifts at the disposal of the community as a whole . . .[24]

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[21] Mrs. George H. Smith, quoted in Ibid., p. 86.

[22] J. T. M. Anderson, quoted in Ibid., p. 96.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Carrie Derick, quoted in Ibid., p. 29.

John McKay, the principal of Manitoba College, entirely rejected the unilingual Canada proposed by some of the other delegates:

> One of the resolutions passed before us, proposed that every child in every school in Canada should be taught the English language . . . But I do not believe every child in Canada should be reduced to the dead-level monotony of one language, and one single-track creed. . . . I believe there is a value we have not estimated in every one of these nationalities that have come to us with their language, traditions, poetry and experience. If we are going to try and drag them down to a dead-level, even type of Canadian, we are going to miss the significance of their nationality, lose their wealth of language and everything that may tend to enlarge the stock and give diversity to the moral ideals and to the moral outlook of our people.[25]

Charles Bruce Sissons, a professor at Victoria University who had carried out some research on these new immigrants,[26] took an even more unpopular stand. He praised Manitoba's Mennonites, a German-speaking pacifist group whose popularity was at a low ebb because of the war and because of their recent conflict with the provincial government over school laws. Sissons called on the conference to:

> . . . look at the best of these people, and in humility realize our own defects - we have plenty of them - and see whether they have not something to contribute to us. I think we can find it if we go after it in that spirit.[27]

These speeches represent the type of soul-searching that the conference organizers had in mind, but it was not what the delegates wanted to hear. Although the proceedings indicate ovations for many of the self-congratulatory speeches, no applause was recorded for any of these remarks. Ira Stratton, the Official Trustee responsible for the operation of schools in the immigrant areas of Manitoba, was critical of the delegates' reception of this issue and criticized them for leaving the hall in the course of the debate. He claimed that they were not fulfilling their obligations on this matter:

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[25] John McKay, quoted in Ibid., p. 64.

[26] Charles Bruce Sissons, "Bilingualism - A National Issue," Maclean's Magazine, December, 1916, pp. 35-37, 91-93, Bilingual Schools in Canada, Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1917; Series of articles, Farmer's Magazine, November, 1915 - June, 1916.

[27] C. B. Sissons, quoted in Winnipeg Proceedings, p. 101.

> The trouble is not with the so-called foreigner, but with the stand-off, indifferent attitude of many Canadians. I want to say that while we are trying to Canadianize these people, I sometimes feel like making apologies, because our standard is not high enough. I feel, today, that some of the talk of this Convention about citizenship is a sham when I think they would not stay and face the one big problem that is before you.[28]

Although the conference organizers and the professional educators saw education as a priority, it was evident that many of those in attendance did not share their feelings.

Conference Resolutions

At the first meeting of the conference two committees were struck, one on organization and one on resolutions. The delegates from each province met and nominated two of their members to sit on each committee. The convention confirmed these nominations and elected nine members at large to serve on the resolutions committee and five members at large to the organization committee.[29] These two committees met over the ensuing three days, working out proposals to be placed before the whole convention. It was anticipated from the outset that the convention would be succeeded by a permanent body which would be empowered to carry the resolutions out.

The body proposed by the organization committee and created by the conference was to be called the National Council of Education.

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[28] Ira Stratton, quoted in Ibid., p. 104.

[29] Ibid., p. 28.

(NCE)[30] It was to consist of fifty members chosen to provide representation for various interests and regions across the country. Each of the provincial delegations at the conference nominated four members to represent them on the Council. There was, apparently, an understanding that these four provincial representatives should be comprised of a professional educator, a businessman, a representative of teachers' organizations and a representative of womens' organizations.[31] The remaining fourteen members were to be selected by the thirty-six elected Council members. The Council was empowered to choose an executive committee of nine persons and to fill vacancies by appointing new members.

The NCE was to meet at least once per year and was charged with the responsibility of implementing the other resolutions passed by the conference. The choice of methods of implementation and whatever other actions were deemed necessary were left up to this new body. The Council was called upon to organize another conference in three years time and was to report back to that meeting.[32]

The conference approved the establishment of the NCE with relatively little debate. Questions that were raised were procedural rather than substantive. Despite the Winnipeg committee's avowed interest in civic involvement, no one raised the question of how representative these Council representatives really were. No one questioned the advisability of having the council answerable to a conference that it was to organize. Despite the number of responsibilities the Council was to have, not one delegate raised the question of financing. The conference was held in a spirit of celebration and optimism with little real concern over potential future problems for the new body. Professionals and businessmen across the continent were forming service clubs, business organizations and special interest associations at this time. Conference members obviously expected that the idealism, business acumen and knowledge that the Council members would bring to bear on educational problems would compensate for any organizational weaknesses that the NCE might have.

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[30] The name National Council of Education was not formally adopted until the first full meeting of the body in early 1920, but the name was in use before that time. "Report of the Retiring President," Vincent Massey, NCE President, Third Triennial Conference on Education and Citizenship, Montreal, April 5-10, 1926, p. 14.

[31] "National Council of Education", Labour Gazette, 1919, p. 1373. The Convention proceedings make no mention of this understanding other than a comment by Sir Robert Falconer that the committee on organization had unanimously agreed that the delegates from each province should include "an expert on education." Winnipeg Proceedings, p. 71. An analysis of the membership of the first Council does reveal that these four interest groups were represented by either the elected or appointed members from each province.

[32] Ibid., pp. 69-72.

One of the crucial proposals introduced by the resolutions committee concerned the establishment of a Dominion Bureau of Education. The original resolution stated:

> That this National Conference on Character Education express its approval of the organization of a Dominion Bureau of Education, whose duties shall be to collect such statistics and facts and general information as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several provinces and territories, and to diffuse such information respecting the organization and management of school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of Canada in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.[33]

An amendment was immediately moved to change the word "Bureau" to "Department," the aim being to create an agency similar to the Department of Education then being debated in the Congress of the United States.

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[33] *Ibid*., p. 118.

Many delegates were in obvious agreement with the proposed amendment but there were fears expressed that the time was not ripe for such a move but that ". . . the first step in that direction is to get the Bureau."[34]

The Superintendent of Public Instruction from Quebec, Hon. Cyrille F. Delâge opposed even the initial motion:

> . . . je considère que la création d'un tel bureau serait inconstitutionnel, contre l'esprit et la lettre de la section 93 de l'Acte de l'Amerique britannique du Nord, laquelle accorde des droits exclusifs aux provinces pour tout ce qui concerne l'education.[35]

As other French-speaking delegates from Quebec rose to oppose the motion, the Winnipeg convention organizers rushed to defuse what was rapidly becoming an extremely divisive issue. It was made especially explosive by the suggestion by the chairman of the resolutions committee, Elson I. Rexford (from McGill), that the federal government should finance the proposed bureau and should, therefore, appoint its members.[36] Bulman addressed the meeting in the hopes of salvaging his dream. He stressed the aim of the Winnipeg group, to use the schools as agencies for improving the quality of citizenship in the country.

> . . . the Winnipeg Committee, and myself personally, had always had in mind, and had hoped, that out of this Conference would come an organization of an unofficial endowment, that would have a Faculty of Research. No relation to government or anything else . . . We thought if you would approve of the foundation of such an organization, that we might bring from other parts of the Empire, or from anywhere in the world, experts who could tell us how our schools should improve the quality of our

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Cyrille Delâge, quoted in Provincial Archives of Quebec (Hereinafter abbreviated AQ), Department de l'Instruction publique, 2175-19, National Conference on Character Education, Winnipeg, Letter, J. N. Miller to Secretaire de la Province, November 14, 1919.

[36] Winnipeg Proceedings, pp. 118-120.

citizenship.[37]

The motion was finally tabled until the evening session in order to give the committee and the delegates more time to consider it.

When the debate resumed that evening, George W. Parmalee, the English-Protestant secretary of the Quebec Department of Public Instruction, introduced an amended motion designed to allay Quebec's fear of federal interference in a purely provincial field, to meet the aims of the Winnipeg organizers and to fulfill the desire of other delegates to create a central educational office in Canada:

> That for purposes of educational investigation and as a clearing house for educational data, a National Bureau be established under the direction of the National Council of the Conference, and that such Bureau be maintained by voluntary support and such financial assistance as may be given by Provincial and Dominion Governments without any restrictions as to policy.[38]

This was finally adopted by "an overwhelming majority" but not without a lengthy debate staged by those who still favoured a federal input in the field of education.

This decision was a crucial one. In the debate, the reasons given for the positions taken by the various delegates reveal a good deal about the mood of Canadians in that immediate post-war period. Besides the constitutional arguments put forward by Quebec delegates, other reasons were given for opposing the original motion. Some felt that a volunteer agency of dedicated individuals would do more for education that "the dead hand of officialdom" would. Others believed that change was only possible through individual commitment which would not occur in a government agency. Others argued that however good the civil servants hired to run a government operation were, they would get no respect because civil servants were so badly paid. On the other side, a number of delegates, mostly Westerners, maintained that only a federal government agency would have the power and prestige to do the job adequately. For these delegates, a federal agency was necessary if improvements were to be made in civic education and national unity.

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[37] W. J. Bulman, quoted in Ibid., p. 120.

[38] G. W. Parmalee, quoted in Ibid., p. 127.

The resolution was a compromise which satisfied no one. Fears of encroachment of provincial jurisdiction had not been assuaged, especially in the province of Quebec fears still lingered about the long-range goals of the proposed body. The finances of the proposed bureau were dependent on donations which made the employment of a team of world renowned educational experts and any long-range "educational investigation" virtually impossible. With these weaknesses the proposed body was incapable of meeting the expectations of those who wished to see some educational unity in Canada.

Another resolution which revealed the cleavages in Canadian society was that dealing with language. The motion presented to the conference read:

> That to the end that both English and French Canadians may not continue to lack interpreters of the good will of each to the other, the study of both English and French should be encouraged in all Canadian secondary schools and universities.[39]

J. N. Miller, the French Catholic secretary of the Quebec Department of Public Instruction, indicated that:

> . . . au comité des résolutions, j'ai proposé amendement

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[39] Ibid., p. 116.

> d'y ajouter les mots "dans toutes les ecoles" avant les mots "High Schools", ce qui, à ma grande surprise, je dois l'avouer, a d'abord ete agrée. Plus tard, un membre du comite demanda de reconsidérer cette resolution, et il fut decidé par la majorité de la laisser dans sa forme primitive . . .[40]

From the conference floor a Franco-Manitoban delegate also attempted to propose a similar amendment, but failed. Although he had not achieved all that he wished from the motion, Miller was pleased with this move by the conference: ". . . un hommage rendu a la langue francaise qui a son importance."[41] While he was writing this report, however, the Winnipeg Committee was printing and distributing copies of the resolutions, copies which even deleted any mention of secondary schools.[42] Whether this was an honest error or a deliberate attempt to reduce the impact of the resolution it is impossible to tell. It does not seem to have been noticed in Quebec, however, as no mention was made of it in the correspondence.

A third area of contention evident in the debate on resolutions was the question of religion. From the outset, this had been one of the prime concerns of the Winnipeg committee. Even with the war over the concern for improving the moral standards remained, along with a conviction that the schools could be used to raise those standards. Many of the delegates agreed about the importance of moral and spiritual aspects of education but they found that there was no agreement as to how to deal with the subject. One Quebec delegate objected to the weak resolution that the conference passed on this topic:

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[40] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 2175-19, Letter, J. N. Miller to Secretaire de la Province, November 14, 1919, p. 3.

[41] Ibid.

[42] See Appendix B, National Educational Conference Resolutions.

> . . . il a été malheureusment impossible d'arriver à une solution satisfaisante à ce sujet, et la seule résolution adoptée comporte simplement qu'il est désirable d'encourager, à l'église, dans la famille et à l'école, une enseignement moral et spirituel. Le mot religieux n'a même pas été inclus dans cette résolution. C'est une chose inacceptable et incompréhensible pour nous de la province de Québec, qui sommes convaincus que la religion doit être à la base de tout enseignement, et que c'est le seul moyen de réussir à former le caractère et de bons citoyens.[43]

The Quebec delegates were not alone in their opposition to what they saw as a move toward approval of secularized education. Archbishop Samuel Pritchard Matheson, an Anglican, had already stated his apprehension about trying to teach morality without religion, a stand which received support from an unexpected quarter, a Jewish delegate. This delegate declared that:

> . . . the teaching of morality is by far the most difficult task of the school, rendered much more difficult when robbed of the needful support of religious sanction. For religion may be regarded as the whole, of which morality is but a part, and when divorced from religion the observance of moral law is exceedingly difficult if not impossible.[44]

Few delegates seemed willing to accept this position, however, and the conference settled for a resolution with little strength.

The two central concerns of the Winnipeg committee had been moral education and civic education. The two concerns were entwined in many of the motions passed by the conference but some were clearly aimed at the broader question of development of national identity and national unity. The awareness of the threat that American technology posed for Canada was evident in a resolution calling for ". . . every effort [to] be made to secure films depicting Canadian and British life and sentiment."[45] While such a motion seems to indicate strong pro-British sentiment, the conference was not willing to see Canada remain a colony either. Delegates also urged the federal government to adopt a "distinctive Canadian flag," a motion which passed with no apparent debate. Such resolutions are an indication of the sentiment of Canadianism present at the conference, a desire to see a Canadian identity distinct from either Britain or the United States.

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[43] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 2175-19, Letter, J. N. Miller to Secretaire de la Province, November 14, 1919.

[44] Marcus Hyman, quoted in Winnipeg Proceedings, p. 37.

There had also been a note of "Canadianness" noticeable in the debate on bilingual education which led to a change in the working of the resolution from "English and French Canadians" to "English and French speaking Canadians." Changes of this order, however, did not really touch the roots of the language problems of the country. Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan had all recently restricted the use of languages other than English in the schools, moves that French-Canadians and more recent immigrants were not likely to forget. The resolution favouring the teaching of both languages met neither Quebec's aspirations for linguistic equality across Canada nor did it satisfy the Anglicizers who wished to abolish the use of all languages except English. The conference did nothing to assist the NCE to choose the stand that it should take on bilingualism or on the role that "New Canadians" could play in developing a Canadian identity.

Although the conference had called on the federal government to provide financial assistance to aid the provinces in the task of "Canadianization," the assembly refrained from defining too carefully what this term meant. The tensions involved in attempting to outline the direction in which the country should go was evident throughout the conference. There was a good deal of positive response to the American speakers, one of whom declared, "I find now, on being among you, that all your thoughts are our thoughts, and our purposes are your purposes."[46] Many of the delegates also appeared to agree with American calls to defend Canada against socialism[47] and to restrict immigration to prevent Anglo-Saxon principles from being lost in a wave of unrestricted immigration.[48]

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[45] See Appendix B.

There seemed to be general agreement, on the part of many in attendance, with speakers who felt that Canadians should be in thought, word and deed - British. Others felt that neither the American nor the British models were the ones Canada should attempt to follow but rather she should use the British model and attempt ". . . to develop, out of the diverse elements which constitute the population of Canada, a distinct nationality, Canadian and British."[49]

While this position received a measure of support, the ideas of those proposing a more distinctive identity proved less popular. In a call for improved communications, John Boyd, the president of the

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[46] Milton Fairchild, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Institute for Moral Education, Washington, D. C., quoted in Winnipeg Proceedings, p. 89.

[47] Ibid., p. 90.

[48] A fear expressed, ironically, by Henry Suzallo, the President of the University of Washington in Seattle. Suzallo was introduced at the Conference as an Italo-American. Ibid., pp. 73-82.

[49] R. S. Thornton, quoted in Ibid., p. 12.

Canadian National League, called for Canadians to ". . . love and respect their fellow Canadians, whatever their race or creed may be; they must be embued with a true national spirit and a true nationhood developed on the basis of the cordial and fraternal cooperation of all races and creeds."[50] Carrie Derick went even further; declaring:

> . . . character does not need to be the same; the methods do not need to be the same; the teachers do not need to be the same; the greater the diversity the greater the richness of our life. Diversity does not make for disintegration. Diversity, combined with tolerance, is the one best rule for liberty and unity.[51]

The Manitoba Free Press, in a mixture of colonial pride and humility, noted, in an editorial comment on the conference, that while the British and American speakers ". . . added a spice of variation. . ." Canada must depend on her own leaders who had provided wise and inspirational speeches.[52] This view was not shared by many of the delegates who seemed to prefer speeches containing praise and idealism to those offering difficult choices and practical suggestions. Such an attitude provided little assistance to the NCE which was given the responsibility of identifying the Canadian ideal and attempting to develop it.

Premier William Melville Martin of Saskatchewan was particularly critical of the "idealistic temperament" of the Winnipeg conference and its lack of recognition of the necessity of suggesting practical steps which Departments of Education could implement.[53] Whenever the conference came to discuss practical measures it constantly returned to problems involving teachers. The complaints about teachers centred on their inadequate training, immaturity, lack of long-term commitment to the profession, their mobility and their poor pay. Despite agreement on these problems, the conference did not address itself to practical measures by which they could be solved. One resolution did call upon provinces to raise qualifications to enter teaching and to raise the level of teachers' salaries, a motion which appealed to teachers but which did nothing to reduce fears of interference in provincial affairs.[54] The conference was primarily a meeting of laymen interested in discussing the theoretical aspects of education, not of educators interested in practical details. Such details, the conference felt, should be handled by the newly established Council.

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[50] John Boyd, quoted in Ibid., p. 27.

[51] Carrie Derick, quoted in Ibid., p. 30.

[52] Manitoba Free Press, October 24, 1919, p. 15.

[53] Winnipeg Proceedings, p. 57.

A number of other resolutions drawn up by the resolutions committee were also passed by the conference. Many of them were "motherhood" resolutions which were adopted without debate. The general thrust of the meeting was in the direction of a more united and stronger country. After the establishment of the National Council of Education, however, the means of implementation of measures to reach this goal was turned over by the conference to this body. The NCE, a volunteer agency, was expected to implement the resolutions passed by the conference and to provide practical suggestions to the provincial governments which controlled education without exacerbating the cleavages which already existed in

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See also "Canadian National Conference on Character Education," School and Society, (November 20, 1919), p. 650. HTJC "Current Affairs: The Winnipeg Conference on Moral Education", Queen's Quarterly, XXVII (January, February, March, 1920), pp. 317-19.

[54] See Appendix B.

Canadian society. This was no easy task but the conference delegates felt that their job was done.

The National Council of Education

Despite the difficulties it had encountered, the Winnipeg conference was greeted with enthusiasm by some educators. One stated:

> The most important event in the history of Canadian education took place in 1846 when Dr. Egerton Ryerson, superintendent of education for Upper Canada, made his famous report on education to the legislature of that province . . . But it is safe to say that no single event since 1846 equals in promise the conference just held in Winnipeg.[55]

The elected members of the NCE held their first official meeting in Winnipeg the day following the completion of the Winnipeg Conference. At this meeting the fourteen additional council members were selected.[56] The members agreed that a meeting of the complete Council should be held early in the new year, leaving the exact date to be fixed by the Manitoba members. They also agreed that this meeting should be held in Ottawa in order to emphasize the national scope of the organization.

Despite the praise of educators, the NCE was not greeted with acclaim by everyone. Despite the widespread support and publicity the conference had received in western Canada, the conference and the new body it created were largely overlooked in the eastern provinces.[57] One Ontario educator termed the meeting ". . . a great success notwithstanding the lukewarm support from many in the East. . ."[58]

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[55] E. K. Marshall, "National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship," School Review, XXVIII (January, 1920), p. 4.

[56] For a complete list of the members of this first Council see Appendix C.

[57] PAC, National Conference on Education and Citizenship, 1919-23, Letter, J. A. Mitchell to W. F. Osborne, November 3, 1919.

The skepticism in the east was, however, understandable. It seemed to many eastern Canadians that the west, to this point, had produced little more than furs, wheat and two rebellions. They were not used to thinking of that part of the country in terms of achievement. Two years earlier Osborne had been informed by a Maritimes resident that he was ". . . simply delighted that this idea comes to us from the supposedly materialistic West."[59] In addition to this regional bias, those in other parts of Canada had not been as involved in planning for the conference as had those in Winnipeg and, therefore, their enthusiasm had, naturally, flagged.

There were, in addition, other local interests. Ontario for example, held a provincial election and a referendum on the appeal of the Ontario Temperance Act on October 20th, 1919, the day the Winnipeg conference began. The election saw the defeat of Sir William Howard Hearst's Conservative government by a Farmer-Labour-coalition under Ernest Charles Drury. This, to Ontario, was of far greater importance than an idealistic education conference in the West. The election of Rev. Henry John Cody, the ex-minister of education, as one of the Ontario members on the NCE executive probably did little to endear the organization to the new government in that province.

Even the teachers who had been involved in the conference did not depend heavily on this new body to resolve the problems of education, Harry Charlesworth, the secretary of the British Columbia Teachers Federation and one of the delegates to the Winnipeg conference, used the opportunity the Winnipeg meeting provided to contact E. K. Marshall, the editor of the Manitoba Teachers Federation Bulletin, with a view to establishing a teachers' organization for western Canada. On the first evening of the Conference, these two men organized a meeting of a number of interested Manitoba teachers with some teacher delegates from Alberta and Saskatchewan. This meeting agreed that such a teachers' organization would have merit and, as a result, a founding meeting was set up in Calgary for the following summer, a meeting which resulted in the formation of the Canadian Teachers Federation.[60] Although the CTF's aims did not run counter to those of the National Council, their attempts to improve such things as salary, working conditions, and sick leave[61] do indicate a recognition that improvements in schools were more likely to result from concerted efforts on the part of teachers themselves, than from efforts on the part of a purely voluntary agency such as the NCE. Bulman's goal of an educational united front appears to have been regarded by the founders of the CTF as meritorious but extremely idealistic.

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[58] George H. Locke, "National Conference on Education and Citizenship in Canada," School and Society, XVII (June 2, 1923), p. 615.

[59] Rev. R. F. Dixon, Wolfville, N. S., quoted in Memorandum re. Education in Citizenship Through the Schools (N.p.: N.Pub, N.d.), p. 20.

There was, in addition, the continuing problem of Quebec's fear that this new body might attempt to encroach into areas of provincial responsibility. Only eight days after the conference ended, Osborne felt it necessary to write to Superintendent of Education, Cyrille Delage, assuring him that the organizing committee had never contemplated the creation of a federal government bureau of education.[62] That such fears did have some basis can be seen from a letter distributed by Walter J. Francis to members of the National Council. Francis, the president of the Montreal Rotary Club and one of the delegates to Winnipeg, circulated a call for an amendment to the BNA Act to allow provinces to delegate some of their authority in the field of education to the federal government.[63] This in turn led to threats by Quebec Council members that they would decline membership in the Council if such a programme were adopted and a flurry of letters from NCE supporters attacking the scheme.[64] The Council, rather than bringing Quebec education closer to that of the rest of Canada, appeared to be doing just the opposite.

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[60] Gerald Nason, "The Canadian Teachers' Federation: A Study of Its Historical Development, Interests and Activities from 1919 to 1960" (Unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1964), p. 10.

[61] Ibid., p. 22.

Many Quebeckers, however, did not wish to draw closer to English-speaking Canada. Still smarting from educational setbacks in New Brunswick, Manitoba, the North-West Territories and Ontario, Quebeckers tended to withdraw from contacts with other Canadians in the field of education. Such an approach gave other Canadians the impression that Quebec did not consider the issues discussed at the Winnipeg meeting as being important.

Just the opposite was the case. The issues of language, religion, provincial control, and moral education were so important to Quebeckers that they did not wish to risk any further losses which they felt such contacts might entail. J. N. Miller, the Catholic secretary of Quebec's

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[62] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 2175, Letter, W. F. Osborne to Cyrille F. Delage, October 30, 1919.

[63] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 2175, 1919, Letter, W. J. Francis to Members of the National Council of Education resident in the Province of Quebec, November 22, 1919.

[64] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 2175, 1919 passim.

Department of Public Instruction, disagreed with this entrenchment by Quebec.

> . . . nos principales institutions scolires et nos universités catholiques de la province de Québec ne devraient pas d'absentir de prendre part aux réunions analogues à celle qui c'est tenue dernièrement à Winnipeg, car les représentants distingués de ces grandes institutions scolaires apporteraient certainment des lumières dans les discussions, et leur presence leur fournirait peut-être l'occasion de défendre nos droits et nos prérogatives, si les circonstances l'exegeaient.[65]

The refusal of many Quebeckers to involve themselves at the organizational conference deprived them of an opportunity to shape the new organization. It also weakened the impact of those in attendance who tried to steer the conference into the field of moral and civic education. A wide gulf still separated those who favoured a close link between religion and education and those who believed in the separation of church and state. It was a problem that most non-Quebeckers did not understand.

An additional problem facing the new organization was one of financing. The financial statement issued by the organizing committee in November, 1919, at the conclusion of the conference showed total contributions of $37,075.88 (including the initial $5,000.00 organizational fund.)[66] Many of the pledges, evidently, had never been honoured.[67] Even though the final costs of the conference were somewhat under earlier estimates, the NCE was left with a balance of only $10,749.02, much less than half of what had been anticipated.

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[65] AQ, Department de l'instruction publique, 2175, 1919, Letter J. N. Miller to Secretaire de la Province, November 14, 1919.

[66] See Appendix D.

[67] The lack of complete records makes it impossible to ascertain who the defaulters were. Of the recorded pledges, only two are not known to have been met: The Vancouver Rotary Club pledge of $3,000 (Manitoba Free Press, October 18, 1919, p. 34) and George M. McLagan of Stratford, Ontario (Memorandum re Education in Citizenship Through the Schools, p. 61.)

Canadian Rotary Clubs from coast to coast who provided $27,570.13 were the main source of conference financing. The geographic origins of these funds reveal a great deal about the nation's attitude towards the project. The Winnipeg club contributed more than the $10,000 which it had pledged,[68] and almost half of the remaining Rotary donations came from three centres, with no contributions from Toronto, Montreal or Quebec. While local Rotary officials may have influenced the members of their clubs not to assist in the project,[69] it seems more likely that, with the war over, the initial enthusiasm for a movement to promote Canadian citizenship had cooled.

One of the key problems faced by the Council stemmed from its very existence. The Winnipeg conference had been a success because all of the organizers knew that they were needed. As soon as a formal organization was established, the need for such dedicated volunteer work was no longer obvious. Instead of the hoped for result of having the conference act as a catalyst to infect the rest of the country with the enthusiasm felt by the Winnipeg members, even the Winnipeg group now felt that this high level of personal commitment was no longer as necessary. This also had financial repercussions. The Council had been established in the hopes that a foundation could be created to support it. Once the structure was in place, however, the problems of financing were turned over to those fifty individuals scattered across the country. The financing of a conference was, in itself, a difficult task; the establishing and endowing of a foundation to support a permanent council was a virtual impossibility now that the threat of war had passed.

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[68] Winnipeg Rotary Club, Minutes of the Directors Meeting, September, 1919.

[69] This may have occurred in some instances where the delegates were not pleased with the action taken by the conference, e. g. Walter J. Francis in Montreal.

It was probably with a great measure of uncertainty that the Winnipeg members called the first meeting of all fifty members of the Council to be held in Ottawa on February 17, 18 and 19, 1920. There was, as yet, no executive, the aims and objectives had been well spelled out but the specific goals and the financing were unresolved. The enthusiasm of the delegates and observers at the Winnipeg conference, however, gave the members the will to undertake the task.

The Winnipeg committee in 1917 struck a responsive chord in Canada, the idea of a national conference focusing on the theme of moral and civic education appealed to most English-speaking Canadians. A common interest and spirit generated by Canadian economic, social, political and military advances during the war had given rise to a confidence that all obstacles facing the country could be overcome. Educational problems, it was felt, could be solved by the relatively simple expedient of hiring experts to map out plans to follow.

Bulman's faith in the conference, the National Council and the proposed Bureau of Education bears a striking similarity to President Woodrow Wilson's faith that his Fourteen Points, the Versailles conference and the League of Nations would ensure peace. The delegates at the Winnipeg meeting in many respects resembled people at a victory celebration. They were more interested in hearing about past victories than laying down careful strategies to ensure future ones. They were more concerned with ensuring that their privileges remained intact than with ensuring the rights of others were upheld. Not overly concerned with the future, the organization they created was both financially and structurally inadequate.

The Winnipeg Conference and the National Council it created were not, however, doomed to failure. Other associations with weaker foundations had flourished. It was evident from the public response that the ideas expressed by Bulman's group were well received. Problems did exist in Canadian education which were not being met by the educational system at that time. There was in Canada in the post-war period a spirit of adventure and a commitment to change. It was possible that the ideals espoused by Bulman and which had been so well dispensed by Osborne over the previous two years would take root and develop into

> . . . a court of last resort [which] would speak with authority, would unify the purpose of the schools of our country and help them to become a single force moving irresistibly towards the righteousness that exalteth a people.[70]

The question remained whether the Winnipeg conference had established such a body. Could Canada's provincial structure and regional nature be significantly influenced by a voluntary agency? A strong central force was needed in order to forge the unifying educational links desired by many of the Winnipeg delegates. The conference had provided the structure, it was now up to the National Council to bring these dreams to fruition.

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[70] Programme, National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship, Winnipeg, October 20, 21, 22, 1919, Back Cover.

Chapter 4

FOUNDATIONS FOR A SANDCASTLE

The National Council of Education was born in a period of change, readjustment and confusion. Old rivalries which had lain dormant during the war now reasserted themselves. Tensions between capital and labour, industry and agriculture, federalists and provincialists, nationalists and imperialists and many other groupings began to build again. It was not a good time to be attempting to build on the spirit of wartime co-operation.

A number of Canadians felt that Canada should consolidate the gains on the international scene made during the First World War. They wanted to press for international recognition of the country's new autonomous status. Some more nationalistic individuals wanted to extend the process even further, while the more imperially oriented citizens wished to halt the swing to what they saw as the dissolution of the Empire. The newly elected federal government of William Lyon Mackenzie King was intent upon securing Canada's autonomy and placed more emphasis on this formalization than on what being Canadian meant. Such an attitude did not bode well for the National Council of Education which had been created with a mandate to produce a more Canadian Canadian.

During the war the federal government had taken unto itself, with the agreement or acquiescence of the provinces, a number of new powers. Even after the armistice, a number of Canadians felt that this process of centralization should continue. These individuals wanted a more unified and centralized country. Some of the delegates to the Winnipeg Conference had expressed such views and some had been selected as members of the National Council.

Such views ran counter to the wishes of the provinces. Provincial governments in the post-war period wished to regain the power that they had lost during the war. In their rush to reassert their provincial rights, they pushed aside concerns about national unity and national identity which had seemed so vital during the war. To provincial politicians there were more pressing things which needed doing.

One of the problems facing the provinces was a demand for improved public works. Governments had to cope with the need to upgrade highways, build hospitals, ensure distribution of telephone and electrical services and provide other services associated with urban growth and rural development. In meeting such demands the provinces hoped to satisfy the increasingly militant agricultural and labour groups and to woo newly enfranchised women voters.

Such projects cost a great deal of money and, in order to undertake them, provincial revenue had to be increased. Some of the provincial governments were able to do this because of the resource boom which took place in the 'twenties'. Mining and forestry began to replace agriculture as the economic heart of the more fortunate provinces. These industries both lay within the authority of the provinces under the powers laid down in the British North America Act. The wealth from these industries not only gave the major provinces the funds to finance their public works, it also began to tip the centre of power away from Ottawa and back to the provincial governments.

With the provinces focussing their attention on public works and industry, little time was left for other concerns. Although they jealously guarded areas of provincial jurisdiction, most provincial leaders felt no threat to their provincial systems of schooling. They saw immigration and citizenship as federal government responsibilities and the National Council of Education as a privately funded agency assisting the federal government in its role.

Unfortunately for the National Council, it was not a high priority with many industrialists either. Only the Council members seemed to remember the concerns expressed during the war and at the conference in Winnipeg.

The Ottawa Council Meeting

> . . . the character and equipment of the teacher are the crux of the whole problem which the Conference and the Council have set themselves to try and solve . . .[1]

With these aims in mind, the Winnipeg members of the National Council of Education called the first full meeting of that new body for February 17 - 19, 1920. The meeting attracted forty members from all nine provinces to the convention centre in the Chateau Laurier Hotel in Ottawa.[2]

The Council faced a number of immediate tasks: the selection of an executive, the employment of a secretary, the appointment of six additional members to complete the Council roster, and the implementation of the resolutions of the Winnipeg conference. The meeting immediately established a number of committees to deal with these concerns as well as any other suggestions that Council members had. In contrast to the Winnipeg conference, this was a business meeting. Members came with criticisms of the educational system in Canada and with concrete proposals about what could be done.

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[1] Archives of Quebec (Hereinafter abbreviated AQ), Department de l'Instruction publique, National Conference on Character Education, 2175-19, Letter, Douglas Durkin to Cyrille Delage, January 13, 1920.

[2] Vancouver Sun, February 18, 1920, p. 11.

It soon became evident, however, that the Council faced a very real difficulty of attempting, as a voluntary agency, to influence and alter the educational policies of nine provincial governments. Many of Canada's educational problems cut across provincial boundaries or existed because of those boundaries.

One problem showed up even before the meeting got under way. The need to upgrade the teaching profession had been a general theme at the Winnipeg conference and a major concern of the Winnipeg Council members. Knowing that a voluntary agency could not, itself, improve the quality of teachers in the country, the Council had called upon the provincial governments to send all Normal School principals from across the Dominion to the meeting. This would have cost in the vicinity of $2,500.[3] The provinces declined to spend this money.[4] Although some Council members were concerned by the attitude of the Provinces,[5] nothing could be directly achieved by the National Council because teacher training and teacher certification were strictly a matter of provincial control.

Problems created by such provincial control should not be seen solely as a problem created by Quebec; provincial jurisdiction in areas such as teacher certification often worked to the disadvantage of French Canadians. In Ottawa itself, the Regulation 17 dispute had, only two years earlier, led to the closing of all Ottawa Separate schools, a move caused in part by the refusal of the Ontario Department of Education to recognize certificate of teachers from Quebec.[6] Francophones in Manitoba, finding themselves in similar straits, looked not to their provincial government but to Quebec to assist them. Delage, when contacted by a Franco-Manitoban concerning the problem of Quebec certificates not being recognized in Manitoba, promised to raise this issue at the Ottawa meeting.[7] While such issues could be discussed by the Council, it was powerless to do anything but make recommendations to the provincial governments and attempt to make the public aware that such problems existed.

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[3] A.Q., op. cit., Letter, Durkin to Delage, January 13, 1920.

[4] E.g., ibid., Telegram, Delage to Durkin, January 22, 1920. It is a measure of the commitment that Winnipegers had to this cause that the Winnipeg School Board not only granted its superintendent, Daniel McIntyre, educational leave to attend the meeting but also paid his expenses. This was despite the fact that as a Council member his costs would have been borne by the NCE. School District of Winnipeg, Committee Book VII, pp. 719-727.

[5] Toronto Globe, February 18, 1920, pp. 1, 3.

All delegates at the Ottawa meeting were agreed that the chief problem facing Canadian education was the need for improvement in the quality of teachers. Professor Carrie Derick, at an Ottawa Rotary Club luncheon, stressed that better qualified and better paid teachers would improve the entire country. A change in this direction, she claimed, ". . . would allow teachers to travel, to hear good music, possess good pictures and mingle freely with other members of the community," a move which, she claimed, would raise the tone of the whole country.[8] This approach was heralded in newspaper editorials and articles across the country.[9] If the newspaper reports can be taken as representative of Canadian feeling on the subject, it would appear that Canadians agreed with the Council that ". . . teachers need to be freed from economic anxiety."[10]

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[6] See Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," Canadian Historical Review, XLVII (September, 1966); 227-248; Margaret Prang, "Clerics, Politicians, and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910-1917," Canadian Historical Review, XLI (December, 1960), 281-307.

[7] A.Q., op. cit., Letter, Horace Chevrier to C. Delage, February 7, 1920; Letter, Delage to Chevrier, February 11, 1920.

[8] Ottawa Citizen, February 18, 1978, p. 13.

The Council was quite taken with a proposal for a national campaign to awaken the public to such educational issues. Delegates planned a two-pronged approach to this programme, firstly pointing out the possibilities of national advancement by means of an improved educational system and, secondly, indicating the weaknesses of Canadian schools. They expected that such a campaign would lead to strong "grass-roots" support for improving the quality of teacher training, for raising teachers pay and for generally reordering of Canadian schools.[11]

Such a campaign could not be undertaken, however, by the Council members themselves: the Council required an executive. Lord Byng, the Governor General of Canada, agreed to serve as the honorary president of the new organization, and William John Bulman was unanimously chosen as president.[12] Bulman, the leading figure in the Council's creation, was to be assisted by three vice-presidents, Hon. Cyrille F. Delage of Quebec, Hon. John Arch Maharg of Moose Jaw and Mr. Vincent Massey of Toronto. Rev. Dr. E. Leslie Pidgeon was selected as chairman of Finance and William Frederick Osborne as Treasurer. Nine other executive members were selected from all parts of the Dominion.[13] The Council also appointed three additional members to replace individuals whose names had been suggested at the Winnipeg meeting but who turned down the appointment.[14] Control of the Council remained in Winnipeg and it was left up to the Winnipeg executive members to make the crucial selection of a secretary.

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[9] E.g., Ottawa Journal, February 20, 1920, p. 6; Vancouver Sun, February 20, 1920, p. 1; Le Devoir (Montreal), fevrier 18, 1920, p. 8.

[10] Ottawa Citizen, February 19, 1920, p. 1.

[11] Toronto Globe, February 18, 1920, p. 3.

[12] Ibid., February 21, 1920, p. 13.

[13] George W. Parmalee, William H. Vance, Carrie Derick, Tom Moore, James J. Tompkins, Arthur Melville Scott, Margaret McWilliams, Herbert T. J. Coleman and Fletcher Peacock. Ottawa Citizen, February 19, 1920, p. 1. The make-up of the NCE came in for criticism later that year when

At the Ottawa meeting the Council commenced a number of undertakings which were intended to simplify the task of the National Bureau which the Winnipeg conference had voted to establish. The executive was instructed to have the secretary establish a Canadian educational library and to commence the collection and compilation of all reports and literature on education issued by the provincial departments of education. His office was seen as a potential Canadian educational clearinghouse which could keep both Canadians and foreigners aware of educational developments across the country.

It was intended that the proposed Bureau should play an active role in attempting to improve the quality of Canadian school textbooks. Accordingly, the Council also commissioned three surveys of textbooks in use in schools across the Dominion. Queen's University in Kingston was to deal with English texts, the University of Toronto with history

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the Canadian Teachers Federation held their initial meeting. The Winnipeg Conference had recommended that one of each of the four provincial representatives be drawn from the "educators" of that province but this had not been officially incorporated into the NCE constitution (see above p. 80). The CTF requested that each CTF affiliate be represented on the Council. Gerald Nason, "The Canadian Teachers' Federation: A Study of Its Historical Development, Interests and Activities from 1919 to 1960" (Unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1964) pp. 23-24.

[14] These new Council members were Vincent Massey of Toronto, Mrs. John Stanfield of Truro, and Col. R. H. Campbell of Charlottetown, Ottawa Journal, February 18, 1920, p. 3.

books and McGill University in Montreal with those in geography. The results of these three studies were to be reported at the next national educational conference which was to be held in three years time.

It is clear that the Council intended that these surveys would be undertaken with a critical eye, one report claimed that their purpose was to find out what moral and spiritual indulgence exists in the school curriculum.[15] A number of the delegates called for more Canadian content and more scriptural passages in Canadian readers[16] although there did not appear to be very great support for a suggestion by Bishop John Richardson aimed at strengthening the relationship between religion and education.[17]

A distinctly nationalistic mood was evident in the Council's urging that more Canadian history and geography be taught in Canadian schools.[18] The press eagerly reported this and other NCE demands for a distinctly Canadian flag, naturalization ceremonies and a Canadian film industry.[19] Such proposals were obviously attuned to the mood of the Canadian public in this early post-war period.

Far less popular were demands such as that of Carrie Derick calling for the teaching for international understanding by using stories and information from other countries. Such ideas were viewed as impractical ideals. So were W. F. Osborne's attempts to get NCE backing for bilingual education. Osborne urged the Council to endorse both French and English at the elementary level in all Canadian schools. Although no Council members opposed the idea, William Grant Carpenter of Edmonton and William Harry Vance of Vancouver urged the Council not to take immediate action on the matter.[20]

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[15] Vancouver Sun, February 18, 1920, p. 11.

[16] Ottawa Citizen, February 18, 1920, p. 13.

[17] Vancouver Sun, February 20, 1920, p. 1.

[18] Ottawa Citizen, February 18, 1920, p. 13.

[19] Vancouver Sun, February 20, 1920, p. 1.

While Council members themselves were retreating from the somewhat idealistic positions taken by the Winnipeg Conference, they found themselves under attack from one quarter for their lack of vision. A letter to the editor appeared in both Ottawa daily newspapers while the NCE was in session, criticizing the Council for restricting its definition of education to schooling. The letter reproached the body for its narrow views on education and claimed that agencies such as libraries were also educational bodies and that bodies such as this should also fall under the purview of the National Council.[21]

The Manitoba Council members had been correct in their assessment that holding the Council meeting in Ottawa would underline the national scope and the importance of the project. The Ottawa Rotary Club held a luncheon for Council members and the city of Ottawa hosted a banquet which was even attended by the honorary president, the Governor-General. This Ottawa meeting of less than fifty people received more coverage in eastern Canadian newspapers than had the meeting of fifteen hundred delegates in Winnipeg four months earlier. Publicity was not all that the Council needed in order to succeed, however, the time had come for action.

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[20] Ibid.

[21] W. J. Sykes, Letter to the editor, Ottawa Citizen, February 18, 1920, p. 2.; Ottawa Journal, February 20, 1920, p. 6.

Major Ney

The executive's most pressing responsibility was the appointment of a permanent secretariat to undertake the numerous responsibilities of the Council. This proved much more difficult than the selection of an executive had been. It was widely recognized that the success of the NCE depended to a great extent on the ability of the person chosen as secretary.[22] He would be responsible for soliciting contributions to establish the proposed $2,000,000 endowment, for creating a National Bureau of Education, for employing people to staff this bureau, for carrying out a national educational campaign and for working cooperatively with local school jurisdictions, provincial departments of education, federal government agencies and foreign educational institutions.

Such a person was not easily found. Rev. Leslie Pidgeon's name was suggested as a possible candidate,[23] but, even if he had been willing to leave the ministry to take up this position, it is unlikely that the Province of Quebec would have readily accepted a Protestant minister as the secretary of an agency striving for the promotion of moral education. The Council, unable to agree on a secretary, had left the choice up to their newly elected executive.

The man the Council required had to be a recognized educator and patriot, with skills as a publicist and speaker. He had to have organizational ability and a willingness to accept a challenge. Above all else, he had to be a man who believed in the ideals the NCE had set for itself and with the ability to transform vague ideals into practice. In April of that year, just such a man appeared - Major Frederick J. Ney.

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[22] University of Toronto Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UTA), Falconer Papers, Box 59, James A. Maclean file, Letter, R. Falconer to J. A. Maclean, December 6, 1919.

[23] *Ibid.*, Letter, J. A. Maclean to Falconer, December 1, 1919.

Major Ney appeared to have all the qualities the NCE had been seeking. The thirty-six year old Canadian army veteran had a distinguished record both as an educator and patriot. After teaching briefly in England he had served as headmaster of both the English College in Nicosia, Cyprus and St. Mary's High School in Cairo, Egypt. In 1909 he emigrated to Canada to take up a principalship at Russell, Manitoba.

In the fall of that year Robert Fletcher, the deputy minister of education of Manitoba, played host to several members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and Learning. He called on Ney to assist him in entertaining these gentlemen. In the midst of this visit, Ney was upset and angered to be called upon by the visitors to explain the reason for job advertisements which proclaimed "No Englishman need apply." Ney attributed such attitudes to a lack of knowledge about England on the part of Canadians, and he was determined to rectify this.

In the summer of 1910, as a means of increasing Canadian knowledge about England, Ney arranged a tour of Britain for Manitoba teachers. He stated that the visit had three important objectives: to give Manitoba teachers an insight into the educational system of Great Britain, to strengthen the "Bonds of Empire" and to bring the people of Manitoba ". . . into touch and communion with the Motherland through the medium of the greatest factor of Empire - the schoolroom."[24] The tour was an undoubted success for the participants who, on their return to

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[24] Frederick J. Ney, Britishers in Britain: Being the Record of the Official Visit of Teachers from Manitoba to the Old Country, Summer, 1910 (London: The Times Book Club, 1911), p. 4.

Manitoba, decided to form an organization "The Old Country League"to promote further visits.[25]

The publicity that the excursion generated did Ney no harm either. On his return he was appointed chief secretary of the Manitoba Department of Education. His superiors, Deputy Minister Robert Fletcher and Minister Hon. George R. Coldwell, encouraged his continued participation in this imperialist undertaking[26] and the next four years annual tours were made of Great Britain by Canadian teachers. The Old Country League not only arranged tours but also undertook ". . . to assist newcomers from the Old Country . . . ."[27]

Encouraged by this positive response, Ney, in 1913, established a programme of teacher exchanges between sixteen Manitoba teachers and thirteen Londoners and three New Zealanders. He saw this as a step toward his goal of establishing ". . . Equality of Certificates in all parts of the British Dominions . . . ."[28] The Old Country League (which that year changed its name to the Hands Across the Seas Movement) took on teacher exchanges as one of its responsibilities and in the following year, the rest of England, the Union of South Africa, Australia, Sierra Leone and the other provinces in Canada were included in the programme.[29]

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[25] Ibid., p. V.

[26] Ney described Fletcher and Coldwell as follows: "Keen patriots as they are, they are still keener Imperialists, and it is safe to add that no two men have done more than they in the interests of imperial Education and the amelioration and the continued unity of the Anglo-Saxon race." Ibid., p. 7.

[27] Ibid., p. VI.

[28] Ibid., p. V.

[29] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1914, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1915, pp. 158-160.

Ney was not involved in these programmes for the purpose of making money. For the first tour he paid all of the organizational expenses, his full share of the group's expenses and the cost of producing the book describing the visit.[30] He was dedicated to spreading his imperialist beliefs.

When the war broke out in 1914, Ney enlisted immediately. As a soldier he was as much an idealist as he had been as an educator. He served in France for three years, was mentioned three times in dispatches, was awarded the Military Cross, the Belgian Croix de Guerre, and the French Croix de Guerre. He was promoted to Major on the eve of the armistice and because of severe wounds retired on an eighty per-cent disability pension.

Because of his wounds, his doctors advised him not to risk returning to the Canadian climate, but by the spring of 1920 he felt well enough to return for a visit. While in Winnipeg he was approached by Daniel McIntyre and asked to serve as the General Secretary for the NCE. Ney's intention had been to remain in London in order to reestablish the Hands Across the Seas Movement in the areas of travel and teacher exchange as a means of strengthening the ties of Empire.[31] The aims of the Council, which McIntyre described, appealed to Ney who saw the project as a means of furthering his desire to improve Canadian education.

When Ney assumed the Office of General Secretary of the National

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[30] Ney, Britishers in Britain, p. VII.

[31] Richardson Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated RA), National Council of Education Files, Letter, F. J. Ney to J. A. Richardson, December 11, 1935.

Council on May 1920 he did so with a clear commitment from the executive that his responsibilities would not include fund raising. This function, he felt, could be more efficiently undertaken by the businessmen who were backing the Council. He also knew that ". . . in work of such nature one man could not fulfil the double function of idealist and canvasser . . .".[32] He saw the role he was being asked to fulfil was that of organizer and idealist.

Idealism was certainly the order of the day. The National Council at this point consisted of little more than a name, an executive, and a bank account. The organization had no staff and kept its files and a stenographer's desk in the corner of an office in the Winnipeg Electric Railway Building. Ney immediately approached his old friend Robert Fletcher, Manitoba's Deputy Minister of Education, and was able to persuade him to allot a four room suite for the joint use of the NCE and the Hands Across the Seas Movement (which he had revitalized on his return to Winnipeg).[33] By the end of June the offices were occupied and a full time stenographer employed.

It was at this point, however, that the first of the NCE's problems emerged. When Ney accepted the position with the Council, it was understood that his work with the Hands Across the Sea Movement would continue. By that time he had already arranged for one hundred and sixty teachers to tour Western Canada that summer.[34] A good deal of his time, therefore, was spent dealing with these activities rather than with those of the Council.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Western School Journal, XV, No. 5 (May, 1920), pp. 159-160.

His absence led to staff difficulties as well. Ney expected the stenographer to take administrative responsibilities when he was away from the office, a task that many stenographers would be loath to do at a wage of $85.00 per month. As a result, "Between the middle of June and the end of December, the one stenographer was changed no less than three times in an effort to secure someone of sufficient education and initiative."[35] The problem was solved when Ney negotiated an agreement with the governments of Ontario and Manitoba whereby they each made a $1000 annual grant to the "Hands Across the Seas Movement." This enabled the movement to employ a full time stenographer, Miss Lilian Watson, and for the Council to employ an additional stenographer, Miss E. A. Ewen. The administrative initiative shown by these ladies as well as the doubling of the office staff allowed both organizations to function more smoothly after they assumed their positions in January, 1921.[36]

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The Question of Federal Involvement

While this organizational work was being undertaken, other developments were taking place which were to hinder the efforts of the National Council. It was evident from the reactions of Quebec delegates at the Winnipeg conference that, at least in that province, there were fears of the creation of any Dominion-wide educational body. There was a strong suspicion that the federal government or some voluntary agency such as the NCE would infringe on provincial rights in the field of education.

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[35] Canadian Education Association Library (Hereinafter abbreviated CEAL), NCE, "Brief Resume of the Council from May to December, 1920. Together with Various Suggestions for Future Activities," p. 1.

[36] *Ibid.*

There were justifications for such a fear. In 1910 the federal government, under pressure from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Trades and Labour Congress, gave way to the urgings of the Minister of Labour, William Lyon Mackenzie King, and established a Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. This commission, chaired by James W. Robertson, the principal of Macdonald College, in its 1913 report recommended the establishment of a federal fund from which provinces could draw to improve the quality of their vocational training facilities and programmes.[37] Since agriculture was one of the areas of shared federal and provincial powers, the government moved first in this area and, in 1913, passed the Agricultural Instruction Act. This act was to provide $10,000,000 over the next ten years to improve agricultural education in Canada. In 1912 a federal government body had recommended that the Dominion should undertake the collection and compilation of educational statistics. By 1914, the Canada Year Book contained some educational material and, in 1919, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics established an Educational Statistics Branch headed by an educator.[38] In that same year, the Technical Education Act, committed the federal government to provide $10,000,000 to the provinces over the next ten years to promote technical or vocational education. L. W. Gill was appointed Director of Technical Education for the Dominion. The federal government was, therefore, already involved in the field of education when the Winnipeg conference had called for the establishment of a National Bureau.

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[37] Canada, Parliament, Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913-14).

[38] F. E. Whitworth, "The Education Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Canadian Education , VII (June, 1952), pp. 4-5.

Shortly after the NCE meeting in Ottawa, a motion was introduced in the House of Commons calling for the establishment of a Federal Bureau of Education.[39] Although the motion's sponsor claimed that his motion would ". . . not interfere with the rights of the provinces," he also maintained that there was ". . . ample evidence that the provinces have failed to produce the kind of citizens whom we should desire to see in Canada"[40] and was critical of provinces which lacked the "backbone" to pass school attendance laws.[41] Since the province of Quebec had opposed the Bureau on the grounds of provincial rights and since Quebec was the only province which lacked a school attendance act at the time, the anti-Quebec bias of the bill was evident.

Because of this bias and because the same member had, a year earlier, attempted to have a motion favouring a national system of non-sectarian schools established by the federal government,[42] there was strong opposition from members from Quebec. The sponsor of the motion referred to the Winnipeg conference but selectively chose his references, leaving an impression of an anti-Quebec bias in the conference as well. In the lengthy debate it was evident that most members lacked any appreciation of the educational aims of their opposite numbers, and that both sides misunderstood the goals expressed by the Winnipeg conference.

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[39] Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, April 19, 1920, Vol. I, p. T363.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 1363.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 1368.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 1385.

Only one member, Hon. Levi Thomson of Qu'Appelle, spoke in the spirit of this conference. He compared the proposed Federal Bureau of Education to the weather bureau:

> The weather Bureau does not pretend to have any control over the weather, but it is quite a useful institution; and in the same way, . . . a Bureau of Education might be a useful institution.[43]

The debate generated a great deal of rancour and was finally terminated when the Acting Prime Minister, Sir George Foster, indicated that although he favoured such a motion the government would not support it at the time.[44] The motion was withdrawn leaving a legacy of animosity and suspicion on both sides. While neither the federal government's limited involvement in the field of education nor the NCE's proposed National Bureau had anything to do with these emotional appeals to anti-French, anti-Catholic biases, the damage was done.

The Quebec Meeting

It is surprising, in the light of this debate, that the first move made toward the establishment of a Bureau of Education should come from Quebec. Once Ney had assumed the position of general secretary of the NCE he began to press for the establishment of the National Bureau of Education which the Winnipeg Conference had approved. Quebec, possibly anxious to forestall additional bitterness such as had been generated by the debate in the House of Commons, invited the Council to hold a meeting in Quebec City to consider the establishment of such an agency. This exploratory meeting was slated for Quebec City, following a federally sponsored Conference on Technical Education and Educational Statistics which was held in Ottawa, October 25-28, 1920. At Ney's suggestion, the Quebec meeting was limited to the deputy-ministers and superintendents of education. The intent of the meeting was:

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[43] *Ibid.*, p. 1387.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 1398-1400.

> . . . to ascertain from the Administrative heads of Education in each Province, whether in their individual opinion a Bureau of Education for the Dominion, organized as a clearing house for Educational data and for research purposes generally, was desired.[45]

Despite the publicity the NCE Ottawa meeting had received and the exploratory nature of the Quebec meeting, there was immediate hostility from at least one quarter. The Chief Superintendent of Education in New Brunswick, William S. Carter, demanded that Ney tell him what mandate the NCE had to ". . . call together representatives from the various provinces" and reminded him of the existence of the ". . . Dominion Education Association [sic] which meets from time to time, and which has become a Council of the heads in Education of the various Provinces."[46] While the apprehensions expressed by spokesmen for Quebec centred around fear of constitutional erosion, the New Brunswick reaction appears to be purely a case of institutional rivalry. Carter, the former president of the Canadian Education Association, was evidently fearful for the life of this moribund organization[47] and wished to defend it against the evidently prospering upstart. Despite Carter's opposition, the deputy ministers and superintendents of education met in Quebec between October 29 - November 3, 1920, under NCE auspices.

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[45] CEAL, op. cit., p. 2.

[46] AQ, op. cit., Letter, W. S. Carter to F. J. Ney, August 18, 1920. This was not the first instance of Carter's opposition to the NCE. See above, pp. 42 and 57.

[47] The CEA had, at this point, virtually suspended its operations. It had not met since 1918 and was not to resume full operations again

In preparing for the Quebec meeting, Ney had reviewed the work that the conference and Council had done prior to his appointment as General Secretary. He had drawn up a programme and an agenda based on his understanding of the Council's objectives. The proposals he laid before the meeting recommended that the organization of the NCE should reflect the dual role which it expected to play. As he saw it, the NCE should have two branches, the National Bureau and the National University.

The first of these, he suggested, would provide a link between the various provincial departments of education. He felt that it should be jointly financed by the various departments and administered by the deputy ministers. It would be responsible for collecting and compiling reports of educational departments across the country and around the world, for conducting educational research suggested by the Council and the provinces, and for publishing these reports and other educational literature and information. He felt that the Bureau should have both a French and an English section, each presided over by a secretary, jointly presided over by a director who would be responsible to the deputy ministers.[48]

All of the other work of the Council, as laid down by the

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until 1934. See Freeman K. Stewart, Interprovincial Cooperation in Education The Story of the Canadian Education Association (Toronto: W. J. Gage Limited, 1957), pp. 31-35.

[48] University of Toronto Library (Hereinafter abbreviated UTL), "Meeting of Deputy Ministers and Superintendents of Education of the Provinces of the Dominion, Held at Quebec."

Winnipeg and Ottawa meetings, Ney placed under the heading of the National University. Even the name indicated a major shift away from the original intentions of the Winnipeg founding members. Their concern for "moral education in the schools" and "education in relation to citizenship" was interpreted by Ney quite differently than its original meaning. The Winnipeg group had suggested that the proposed National Bureau be comprised of eminent educators who would assist in planning improvements in Canadian schools. Ney had seized on this idea and shortly after his appointment as General Secretary had proposed, in a speech to a Calgary service club, that prominent Englishmen be sent on lecture tours of Canadian cities and universities as a means of "Public Education".[49] He appeared to believe that the Winnipeg group's concern over the general moral purpose of Canadian education and his own plan for educating Canadians about England were one and the same. Although the Winnipegers had agreed that adult education would not be as effective as educating children, Ney either misunderstood, overlooked or ignored this. For him, public education meant ". . . Education of the Public on the needs of Education and the Teaching Profession. This involves, in turn, work somewhat similar to what is generally known as University Extension work . . . ."[50]

Ney, in fact, had difficulty in separating in his own mind the two organizations of which he was in charge, and over half of the time at the Quebec meeting was taken up discussing the Hands Across the Seas Movement. The first order of business in that field was finding a more acceptable name for the movement. Although Ney favoured the "Britannic

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[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

Education League", the Deputy Ministers voted for the less imperialistic title of the "Overseas Education League".[51]

He had initially hoped to have this organization span the Empire with an impressive Empire Council of nobles and dignitaries headed by the King.[52] This proved impossible because the League of Empire had adopted Ney's scheme of teacher exchanges immediately after the cessation of hostilities and was already firmly in control of the programme in Britain. The Overseas Education League then, was forced to restrict its teacher exchange operations to Canada and to act as a clearinghouse for Canadian teachers requesting exchange positions.[53]

Other aspects of Overseas Education League work were also given the blessing of the deputy ministers. Ney reported that under the League's auspices "over 1400 Teachers of the Dominion have now visited the Greater Britain of the Mediterranean."[54] These visits were approved by the meeting, as were attempts by the organization to get reduced travel rates for teachers both within and outside of Canada.[55] The Deputy Ministers also requested that the League should take responsibility for requests by school children from other parts of the Empire to set up correspondence with Canadian children. This programme had been initiated by the League of the Empire and, in order to assist them in this activity, it was agreed that the Overseas Education League should coordinate attempts to locate Canadian "pen-pals".[56]

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid. He had already received commitments from a number of people such as Field Marshal Earl Haig and Sir Thomas McKenzie, the New Zealand High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, to serve on such a body.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid. After the war Britain began to play a more influential role in Europe and Ney's vision of England's proper sphere of influence now extended beyond the British Isles.

[55] Ibid.

It was agreed at the outset of the Quebec meeting that ". . . no formal resolutions were to be made, inasmuch as the meeting had been arranged for the purpose of discussion only."[57] Therefore, even on the matters on which there was general agreement, no specific plans were made or programmes undertaken. Ney was instructed by the meeting to work out the details of his proposals for presentation to the provinces as soon as possible.[58]

Ney left the Quebec meeting feeling that progress had been made, that his proposals had been ". . . regarded in a favourable light" and that he had been given the authority to continue to develop his plans.[59] The other participants, however, did not seem to share his feelings. The Chief Superintendent for British Columbia, R. H. Rogers, reported only ". . . important discussions of an _unofficial_ character were held relating to the work of the National Council of Education and to the movement for a temporary interchange of teachers between Canada and the other Dominions and the United Kingdom."[60] The Deputy Ministers who attended the Quebec meeting were not members of the NCE and clearly did not feel entitled to speak for their respective ministers on this body.

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[56] _Ibid_.

[57] CEAL, _op_. _cit_., p. 3.

[58] _Ibid_., p. 3.

[59] _Ibid_., p. 3.

[60] British Columbia Department of Education, _Public Schools Report, 1920_, Victoria: King's Printer, 1921, p. XXII, (emphasis added).

Agreements reached by the Deputy Ministers at Quebec, therefore, were no more binding than those reached earlier that year in Ottawa by a meeting of a purely voluntary organization.

The province of Quebec, which had hosted the meeting, used the opportunity to show other influential Canadians the benefits of its educational system. In this, they were obviously somewhat successful. Delegates commented on the ". . . spirit of mutual understanding and good feeling . . ."[61] and on their increased knowledge about Quebec's system of education which ". . . suited the temperament of the people, the welfare of the Community and the needs of the Province."[62] The province was also satisfied with this aspect of the meeting. A Montreal newspaper editorial declared:

> Notre premier ministre, l'hon. M. Taschereau, a profité du passage à Quebec des sous-ministres et des surintendants de l'instruction Publique des differentes provinces du Dominion, pour réaffirmer l'attitude de son gouvernement en matières educationnelles. M. Taschereau c'est declaré catégoriquement en faveur de la libre administration de ses affaires scolaires par chaque province . . . . Ces remarques sont justes et opportunes. . . . Encore une fois, chacun maître chez soi et tout ira bien.[63]

The province obviously felt that it had made its point.

Ney, however, obviously did not get the message. In his first report to the Council he claimed:

> . . . the relations of the Council with the various Departments today have improved very considerably. Misunderstandings both as to the objects and the policy have been cleared away, and . . . the Departments of Education . . . will be found prepared to cooperate as

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[61] Ibid.

[62] CEAL, op. cit., p. 4.

[63] Montreal La Presse, novembre 4, 1920, p. 4.

soon as the work of the Council is definitely defined.[64]

It is obvious that both sides could not be equally right in their interpretations of the events. Ney's centralizing and pro-imperial views were obviously at odds at least with those held by the province of Quebec.

NCE Activities 1920-1922

Ney returned from the Quebec meeting encouraged to proceed in developing his plans for the NCE. Probably one of the reasons why Ney had been selected as general secretary was his ability to generate ideas. This he did with great facility. During the first two years he was in office, Council members found themselves bombarded with suggestions as to how Canadian education, and Canada in general, could be improved. Making the suggestion proved easier than putting these ideas into effect.

One of the first problems that Ney faced was that of financing his schemes. Despite the promise that had been made to him that he would not be responsible for finances, he found himself, almost immediately, searching for funds. All mention of the $2,000,000 trust fund by then seems to have died down, but Ney obviously still expected the fifty Council members, under Leslie Pidgeon, to develop this fund to support the proposed National Bureau and its work. He evidently did recognize some responsibility in this area, however. In his first report he suggested the creation of a large number of sustaining or associate members at an annual membership fee of $25.00 which would cover the operating expenses of the Council.[65] Although there does not appear to have been any opposition to such a proposal, it was never accepted by the NCE and it became a recurring theme of Ney's demands over the next two decades. He did not appear to feel responsible for undertaking this kind of financial organization, probably feeling that he had fulfilled his obligations by making the suggestion. He had other responsibilities.

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[64] University of Alberta Archives, Tory Papers, National Council of Education, 1107-1(A), Letter, F. J. Ney to W. J. Bulman, January 9, 1921.

One of these responsibilities was that of getting people interested in the new body. In spite of the favourable response to the Winnipeg conference, the general public was largely apathetic toward the NCE.[66] A number of people felt that there were already too many organizations, and that, laudable as the objectives were, they could be undertaken by an already existing group.[67] Some felt that the Council's aims were so idealistic that they could not be realized, while others feared Council success in implementing policies to improve moral education in a way which would destroy the common schools by the introduction of religion. The Council was also distrusted by conservative elements in society who saw it simply as an agency to promote more fads into the schools.[68] All of these problems had to be overcome and it was for this reason that the meeting in Ottawa had decided on a massive propaganda campaign.

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[65] CEAL, _op_. _cit_., p. 11.

[66] _Ibid_, p. 12.

[67] _Ibid_. These sentiments were probably shared by some of the supporters of the CEA see p. 117.

[68] _Ibid_.

The proponents of such a campaign felt that it would result in raising public awareness of the importance of teachers, which would, in turn, raise the status of the profession. Ney either misunderstood the NCE's wishes in this regard or deliberately chose to misrepresent them. He stated:

> "Apparently among a small number of members it had been assumed that a campaign would start at once . . ."[69] but went on to say that such a campaign was unwise. He claimed: "The Conference of 1919 probably did more to raise the status of the Teaching Profession than any other educational movement. It directed the attention of the public throughout the Dominion to the Teacher and the true meaning of Education."[70]

For this reason, the campaign was never undertaken and Ney chose instead to attempt to carry out this work through conferences, lectures, and public meetings.

These lectures, conferences and public meetings were part of what Ney had termed the "National University" at the Quebec meeting. The original concept of the Winnipeg organizers was to have a National Bureau headed up by renowned educators who would advise Canadians on the best ways of implementing educational reforms. Ney suggested that such men be employed, on a yearly basis, not only as consultants to aid in the preparation of courses of study and school text books but to provide addresses to educators, to the general public and to various organizations.

The purpose of this undertaking, he said, was to ". . . assure the position of the Council as a factor in Education in the Dominion and to add dignity and lustre to the Teaching Profession."[71] This was not, however, what the NCE meeting in Ottawa had wanted.

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[69] Ibid., p. 7. (emphasis added)

[70] Ibid.

It is difficult to assess the impact of this decision. At both the Winnipeg Conference and the Ottawa Council meeting, strong concerns had been expressed about the quality of education being provided in Canadian schools. Delegates at these meetings had shown a desire to take steps which they considered would have an immediate impact on those schools. Ney was opting for a more indirect route of attacking the problem. His purposes were not the same as those of the Council members in Ottawa who had enthusiastically supported the publicity campaign. They wished to see older, more highly qualified and better paid teachers in the schools, and hoped that such a campaign would encourage such a development. Ney's refusal to launch this programme must have been viewed with dismay by the Council members who had pressed so hard for it. Although lectures appealed to Ney, they could not have satisfied those Council members whose primary concern was the improvement of the quality of instruction in the public schools.

The decision against undertaking the publicity campaign had an important impact on the NCE in terms of distribution of power as well. The Winnipeg committee, the conference delegates and the Council members themselves had assumed that power would be vested in the Council and its executive who would, in turn, employ a general secretary to carry out routine operations. Ney made it clear, however, that the cancellation of the campaign was solely his decision, ". . . the result of a definite policy on the part of the General Secretary . . . ."[72] By not undertaking this programme Ney effectively changed the power structure of the organization. He did not see himself as the Council's servant, responsible for routine matters, but rather as an idea man who made proposals for the Council to undertake and who made decisions on Council policies. The NCE executive does not appear to have challenged this development. Although many Council members wished to have the campaign undertaken, they were not necessarily opposed to the National University scheme. The idea received widespread support across the country and was backed by at least three departments of education.[73]

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[71] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

This shift in the power of the Council became more evident later that year. When R. H. Campbell, the Chief Superintendent of Schools of Prince Edward Island and one of that province's representatives on the NCE, accepted a position in another province, Ney took it upon himself to approach his successor, R. H. Rogers, to fill the Council vacancy. Having done this, he then wrote to Council members to have his action confirmed.[74] Not only did his action usurp the power of naming replacements which rightfully belonged to Council, it also changed the nature of the body. The Council had been designed to include outstanding individuals from each province who had an interest in education. The appointment of individuals because of the office they held had not been the intent of the founders. By leaving such moves unchallenged, the executive left Ney in almost complete control of the NCE.

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[72] Ibid., p. 12.

[73] Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan all supported the lectureship scheme. UTL, National Council of Education, "Extracts from the Office Diary for the Second Quarter ending June 31, 1921," pp. 3-4.

[74] A.Q., Department de l'Instruction publique, 2757-1920, Letter, F. J. Ney to G. W. Parmalee, December 13, 1920.

There was one other important aspect to Ney's cancellation of the publicity campaign. The Winnipeg committee had begun their movement on the assumption that most Canadians would agree with their concerns regarding moral education and civic life. Ney's decision not to hold the publicity campaign was based on an entirely different premise: ". . . on the grounds that the Council's work was in far too nebulous a state to warrant even public discussion, in the course of which considerable harm might be caused, to partly developed ideas."[75] Such thinking was in tune with Ney's desire to uplift Canadians. He felt that it would be futile, if not dangerous, to encourage them to consider the state of their own school system. Rather than encouraging public involvement in shaping the educational system, Ney saw this as a long and arduous process, claiming ". . . that years may elapse before the public is sufficiently organized to demand that a greater stress shall be laid on moral training in our schools."[76] Until then, he felt, the Council should guide Canadians along the correct path, and he should control the Council's activities.

There were some aspects of the Council, however, over which Ney had little control. The text book surveys which had been initiated by the Ottawa meeting was one of these. These surveys of geography, history and literature text books were being done by McGill, Toronto and Queen's Universities respectively. This work had been undertaken by the universities with the secretary responsible only for attempting to obtain copies of the texts for the reviewers[77] and for ensuring that the surveys were carried out.

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[75] CEAL, op. cit., p. 12.

[76] Ibid., p. 17.

The review of geography books by McGill University was under the direction of Richard Percival Devereux Graham. The committee, which also included Carrie Derick and J. M. Sutherland, the Inspector General of Quebec's Protestant schools, proceeded quite rapidly with few difficulties. By January, 1921, they were preparing an interim report.[78]

The other studies were not so blessed. Although preparations were underway on the history project even before Ney was appointed,[79] by the end of the year, no work had been done. The head of the history department, George M. Wrong, refused to head the committee because one of the most widely used history texts in Canadian schools had been written by him. Sir Robert Falconer, the President of the University of Toronto, worked out an alternative arrangement which allowed Charles Bruce Sissons and William Stafford Milner, William Stewart Wallace, George Malcolm Smith and Charles Norris Cochrane to review ancient history texts, while Chester Martin from the University of Manitoba dealt with those on modern history as soon as he completed other research to which he was committed.[80]

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[77] A.Q., Department de l'Instruction publique, 1425-1920, Letter, F. J. Ney to J. N. Miller, August 14, 1920.

[78] CEAL, op. cit., p. 6.

[79] UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 59, Massey file, Letter, V. Massey to R. Falconer, April 22, 1920.

[80] CEAL, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

The literature survey presented an equally confusing picture. Herbert T. J. Coleman of Queen's University, one of the key figures in establishing these surveys, had taken responsibility for this field. In the spring of 1920, when Queen's closed their faculty of education, Coleman moved to the University of British Columbia and surrendered the chairmanship of the committee. The next chairman had no sooner taken over than he was appointed Registrar of the University and had to resign his post. In November, 1920, Professor Macdonald accepted the chairman's post and a committee consisting of Oscar D. Skelton and Coleman, now of the University of British Columbia, began their work.[81]

By the end of 1920, therefore, only one of the three surveys had made any progress. There was really no need to hurry, however. The surveys, when completed, were to be turned over to the National Bureau which would analyze the reports and bring forward suggestions to the next conference to be held in Toronto.[82] Had all the reports been ready by the end of 1920 they would not have had a Bureau to which they could have reported.

One of the central aspects of the Winnipeg group's 1917 plan was the creation of a Dominion Bureau of Education. Originally it had been hoped that such a body could be made up of world renowned educators who would be able to provide guidance to school systems across Canada. At Quebec Ney had broached the question of a voluntary bureau under NCE auspices, jointly financed by the provincial departments of education but

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[81] Ibid.

[82] The Times Educational Supplement, September 9, 1920, p. 488.

> . . . in no Province was there found any disposition to financially assist in the organization and administration of a Bureau which should remain entirely under the control of the Council. Further, it will be at once seen that little advantage could result in such a Bureau being organized were the Departments not sympathetically disposed towards it, and actually prepared to take advantage of such facilities for research and co-ordination such a Bureau would provide. Not only is Quebec jealous of its Provincial autonomy in matters of Education, but the same attitude is to be found throughout the Dominion.[83]

To calm fears of any intended usurpation of provincial rights, Ney claimed that although the NCE was trying to organize the Bureau ". . . it was not intended, that a Bureau should be established with the aim of standardization . . . ."[84] While such a statement was attuned to the political realities of 1920, it was a major shift from the original intent of the Winnipeg committee.

That group had envisaged the National Bureau as a moral force which would achieve standardization, not by cohesion but by force of prestige. The body it had dreamed of was to be a dynamic force which would combine the best of modern science with the best of traditional humanism and religion, and which would focus its attention on creating an ideal school system in Canada. This was a far cry from the bureau of filing clerks, librarians and paid researchers to which Ney had retreated.

While the deputy ministers in Quebec had been in agreement that an agency to act as a clearing house would be beneficial, there was no agreement as to how such a body should be organized and administered. Ney had been requested to draw up a detailed plan to present to the provinces. This he decided to do at a meeting of ministers and deputy ministers of education in Toronto in 1922.

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[83] CEAL, op. cit., p. 1.

[84] Ibid.

Meanwhile, there were a number of other matters to which Ney turned his attention. One of these was the establishment of an educational library under NCE auspices. By mid-August, 1920, Ney had sent letters to the provincial Departments of Education requesting one copy of each of the text books used in schools to be sent to the Council's offices in Winnipeg as well as copies of the history, geography and literature texts to be sent to the textbook survey committees.[85] By September, it was reported that ". . . steps are being taken to form a library of school texts which are in use throughout the English-speaking world."[86] Ney had approached publishers throughout the Empire and the United States for copies of books for the purpose of providing a textbook exhibition at the national educational conference being planned for Toronto.[87] By January, 1921, when the first NCE annual report was issued, the basis for a Council Library had been laid.

This library was not limited to school text books. Taking note of complaints by teachers that music which was suitable for classroom use was difficult to obtain, Ney also took steps to secure copies of school music, operettas, action and game songs, and plays from publishers.[88] Probably because he intended these items for immediate use by classroom teachers, only Canadian and British suppliers were contacted. He did not intend the Council to be used as an agency which would assist in the further Americanization of Canadian children. This aspect of the Council's work met with particular favour from Evans Brothers Limited in London, England, which undertook the provision of a wide range of music materials for the Council's music library.[89] Ney called for the creation of a Canadian song book for use by schools, community clubs and new Canadians.[90]

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[85] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 1425-1920, Circular letter, August, 1920.

[86] The Times Educational Supplement, loc. cit.

[87] UTL, National Council of Education, Circular letter to publishing houses.

[88] CEA, op. cit., p. 8.

Ney's pro-imperial attitude was evident in another one of his early proposals for the Council, an educational film library. He saw that motion pictures had the potentiality to be both one of the greatest educational aids or one of the greatest educational threats facing Canada. To overcome the ". . . vicious and demoralizing type of picture shown in a large number of picture houses," Ney called for the Council to institute a film library or exchange.[91] He contacted movie producers and distributers in Canada and Great Britain, but avoided those in the United States. He did not, however, see this proposed film project as a two-way street. He was not interested in promoting Canada abroad, not feeling that films on Canada would be of interest and use to educators in other parts of the Empire. The NCE, he proposed, should become involved in the production of educational films not on Canada but on topics such as ". . . systems of education in different parts of the world."[92]

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[89] UTL, National Council of Education, "Extracts of the Office Diary for the Second Quarter, ending June 31, 1921," p. 2.

[90] National Council of Education, "Retrospective: A Canadian Ideal in Education: Prospective." (Third Impression) Winnipeg: National Council of Education, [1922], p. 18.

[91] CEA, op. cit., p. 19.

While Ney was putting forth proposals to the Council executive, he was also engaged in another of the tasks assigned to him by the Ottawa meeting. One of the concerns that had been expressed by delegates at the Winnipeg Conference was that Canada lacked a central educational agency which could provide links with other countries. In preparation for the establishment of the National Bureau, Ney began making contacts throughout Canada and the Empire. At the time of the Quebec meeting, relations had been established with twelve educational bureaus or departments,[93] and by the end of 1920 this number had increased to thirty departments and twenty universities around the world.[94]

By early January, 1921, Ney had extended the services of the NCE library. Copies of a new school textbook on citizenship and ethics were sent to all Council members and to all provincial departments of education for consideration as a text.[95] This book, John Ormsby Miller's The Young Canadian Citizen,[96] was exactly the type of book that the Winnipeg organizers had in mind. It combined moral lessons on such topics as duty, obedience, honesty and courage with descriptions of the economic and political structure of the country.

The Council library also instituted a reference section to assist it in supplying information. This section contained both books and press clipping files on education and related topics.

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[92] Ibid., p. 20.

[93] UTL, op. cit., p. 2.

[94] CEA, op. cit., p. 10.

[95] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 2175-1919, Circular letter, January 20, 1921.

[96] John Ormsby Miller, The Young Canadian Citizen: Studies in Ethics, Civics and Education (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1919).

Although the concern which had sparked the Winnipeg organizers was evident in these actions, there is no indication of how well they were accepted. Provincial educational systems charily defended their independence and integrity from any threat of encroachment. Neither is there any indication of the response of Council members to the steady flow of material on British education which Ney began to send them.[97] Only when departments of education saw a chance of furthering their own purposes did they take notice of the information Ney was distributing. For example, advertising circulars for gramaphone records sent out by Ney were distributed to schools as a means of encouraging schools to modernize their equipment.[98]

There were two other aspects of Ney's imperialist vision for Canadian education which he aspired to implement via the National Council. The first was a series of two magazines designed specifically for Canadian boys and girls. These he hoped to pattern after New Zealand's monthly children's journal which had been operating successfully for a number of years. He hoped to incorporate serial stories, a hobby page, sports articles, a music page and suggested other topics such as "Heroes of the

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[97] E.g., Rev. Basil Yaxlee, An Educated Nation and Working Out the Fisher Act. University of Saskatchewan Archives, Presidential Papers, Series 1-5, General Correspondence (Na-Ne), form letter, F. J. Ney to Council Members, April 21, 1921.

[98] A.Q., Department de l'Instruction publique, 18-1921, Letter, George W. Parmalee to F. J. Ney, January 24, 1921: Letter, George W. Parmalee to F. J. Ney, January 24, 1921. "The value of providing the instrument where there is not one already there may be suggested in this way."

Great War," "Canada Our Heritage," "In Other Lands beneath the Same Flag," "Cities of The Empire," "The Peoples of the Empire," etc. He made tentative arrangements with J. M. Dent & Sons, Thomas Nelson and Sons and other publishers to use copyright material at little or no expense and even made up a dummy issue of The Canadian Boy's Own, hoping to get financial assistance from Canadian Rotarians to allow the Council to undertake the project.[99]

Ney's other undertaking was an attempt to have four pages of Canadian educational news inserted in The Times Educational Supplement to serve as a Council Bulletin. In September, 1920, this question was taken up with Sir John Willison, The Times Canadian representative, and the editorial staff in London.[100] The Times' directorate proved to be favourably disposed toward the idea, and Ney called on the Council to adopt such an insert as its journal if a suitable price could be arranged.[101]

The Toronto Education Ministers' Meeting

Central to all these concerns was the development of a workable constitution for the NCE and the establishment of a National Bureau. In order to encourage the establishment of such a body, the first meeting of Ministers of Education ever held in Canada was called for October 30 and 31, 1922, in Toronto. The meeting was hosted and paid for by the government of Ontario,[102] and its object was the discussion of the NCE's proposal for a Canadian Bureau of Education. The records of this meeting provide a case study of the aspirations, organization and shortcomings of the Council.

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[99] CEA, op. cit., p. 17.

[100] UTL, op. cit., p. 2.

[101] CEA, op. cit., p. 18.

[102] Public Archives of Canada, Willison Papers, MG30D14, Folder 233, Letter, F. J. Ney to J. Williams, November 11, 1922.

At this meeting the Council itself was not represented by any of the original Winnipeg Organizers whose idea the Bureau had originally been. The members who did attend, attempted to dispel the fears of the ministers that the NCE either wished to meddle in provincial affairs or to establish a federal body which would.[103] They stressed the need for provincial involvement in the scheme and used the arguments in favour of national unity which had been so popular only a few years earlier, emphasizing the successes achieved by other countries through their educational systems.[104] The voluntary and lay nature of the Council was made clear in an effort to show the need for cooperation of all elements in society in working toward a common goal.[105]

Despite their efforts, the reception they received was not particularly favourable. Hon. Robert Malcolm MacGregor, Nova Scotia's Minister of Education, announced that he had attended the meeting more out of respect for the invitation by the Ontario government than from sympathy with the purpose.[106] Although many of the departmental representatives expressed a measure of agreement with the need for a Canadian agency to collect educational statistics and the like, they were suspicious of the National Council about which a number of the delegates admitted they knew very little.[107] As serious as this lack of information on the part of the ministers was, more serious was the ignorance on the part of the NCE representatives.

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[103] *Meeting of the Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education of the Dominion At Toronto By Invitation of the Government of Ontario, October 30th and 31st, 1922*, (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.), pp. 5, 6, 7.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Major Ney, in describing to the meeting the composition of the Council, did not know the number of members from each province nor the manner in which they were chosen. The other three NCE representatives were unable to assist him.[108] Not one of the Council's representatives had been at the Winnipeg Conference in 1919. Neither were they clear on how the proposed Bureau would be funded, despite the fact that Falconer had chaired the 1917 Toronto meeting which had proposed the establishment of the $2,000,000 Trust Fund.[109]

It is clear from Ney's description of the Council and its work that he neither knew its history nor fully understood its purposes. Despite the fact that the original purpose of the Winnipeg group was to create a central bureau to assist Canadian educators, Ney claimed this as an after thought flowing from the Winnipeg Conference.[110] When questioned about the work undertaken at the Ottawa meeting he dismissed it as

> . . . of such a wide nature that perhaps it could scarcely be regarded as a very practical and tangible contribution.

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[107] Ibid., p. 22. "Hon. Mr. MacGregor: . . . I must confess frankly to a good deal of ignorance in respect to the National Council of Education.
The Chairman [Hon. R. M. Grant]: I am quite with you on that.
Hon. Mr. Latta: I don't know about it.
The Chairman: None of us do."

[108] Ibid., p. 23.

[109] See p. 37.

[110] Meeting of the Ministers . . ., p. 25.

> [Aside from the Bureau] . . . dealing with subjects, such as, for instance, a set of inspirational readers, and the Canadian Flag. Many of the resolutions seemed . . . irrelevant to the purposes which brought the Conference into being.[111]

These, in fact, were the very reasons that the conference had been called and the Council established.

An additional problem was one of representation. Although it was billed as a meeting of all of the ministers and deputy ministers in the Dominion, only five of the nine ministers and six of the ten deputies attended the sessions. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island were not even represented.[112] Despite the fact that the NCE had been in existence for three years, and despite the Quebec meeting of deputy ministers two years earlier, the departmental officials who did attend knew very little about the Council or about the purposes of the meeting.

In spite of this lack of knowledge, governmental officials were not provided with advance information about the NCE proposals to be discussed. Ministers came to the meeting unable to speak with authority on their government's position because they had not received advance copies of the agenda. Copies of the agenda had been prepared at least a few weeks in advance and had been distributed to Council members as confidential documents but had not been provided to governmental delegates.[113] Despite the instructions of the Quebec meeting, Ney had not worked out specific proposals for the Bureau to present to the provinces during the two years which had elapsed.

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[111] _Ibid._, p. 24.

[112] New Brunswick's lack of representation must be seen as a direct snub to the NCE because Fletcher Peacock, the Director of Vocational Education, represented the province at the CEA conference in Ottawa at the beginning of November immediately following the Toronto gathering.

[113] _Meeting of the Ministers_ . . ., p. 33. A copy of a document entitled "Notes and Suggestions for the Agenda of the Toronto Meeting" is available at the University of Toronto Library, marked "confidential", n.d.

The proposals contained in the agenda, in fact, occupy only two and one-half pages in the seven-page document and do not appear to have been substantially modified or expanded since the 1920 Quebec meeting. The rest of the agenda was occupied by other Council and Overseas Education League affairs. It is evident that Ney's primary interest was not in work the Council had set out to accomplish but in the task he had set for himself in 1910. His concerns focused on the Overseas Education League which was forging links with the rest of the Empire and with the proposed lectureship scheme by which British lecturers could tour Canada.

The result was that the meeting went badly for the National Council. Only three provinces gave any measure of support for the Council's proposal. Those provinces, Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario, were ones which had Farmer governments. The others were either skeptical or opposed to the scheme. Parmalee from Quebec and MacGregor of Nova Scotia introduced a motion which received the support of the delegates, stating:

> Resolved that this Conference of Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education representing the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, declares its formal opposition to any intervention, either on the part of the Federal authorities or of private or of public institutions in matters relating to educational administration in the various Provinces, unless such intervention is preceded by distinct agreements to that end with the Governments of the Provinces concerned; and further declares that our National interests demand that education shall at all times remain directly and absolutely within the sole jurisdiction of the Provincial authorities.[114]

Having clearly stated their objections to interference, the delegates also passed a second motion dealing with the proposed bureau. They agreed:

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[114] Meeting of the Ministers . . ., p. 44.

> That this Conference grant the request of the National Council of Education to respectfully submit to the Governments of the Provinces the question whether they are in favour of the establishment of a Bureau of Education for the Purposes or any of these outlined below:
> "1. (a) The collection and publication of reports on Educational matters, problems and development in the Provinces of the Dominion, throughout the British Empire and in other parts of the world.
> "(b) Such other functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the common consent of all the Provincial Departments of Education; and,
> 2. That the Provincial Governments favouring the establishment of such a Bureau appoint a delegate to a further Conference to consider and report to their respective Governments upon plans for the organization and maintenance of such a Bureau if found practical, and that the necessary correspondence to carry these proposals into effect be conducted by Major Ney, Secretary of the present Conference.[115]

At the end of the meeting then, the NCE was no closer to its goal than it had been two years earlier. Ney was, again, requested to draw up firm, concrete proposals and submit them to the provincial governments for their approval.

Ney must bear part of the responsibility for the Council's failure to convince the delegates at the Toronto meeting of the value of their proposal. Because he was absent at the time of both the Winnipeg and Ottawa meetings, he did not seem to have completely understood the reasons for the creation of the Council. His interests were still strongly pro-imperial while at least part of the support for the Council and the proposed Bureau was based on nationalism. Ney had only come to Canada twelve years earlier, had spent half of that time away at war and a good deal of the rest of the time either arranging for, or escorting, teacher and student groups through Britain for the Overseas Education League. He opposed Canadian nationalism and was unable to understand even those weak elements of it which were evidenced in the new organization.

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[115] Ibid.

While the Winnipeg group was of the opinion that change could best be effected through the schools by influencing future generations, Ney was committed to adult education. None of the original group even mentioned adult education, yet Ney saw this as one of the major functions which the Council should be undertaking. He was convinced that all that Canadians needed in order to become staunch moral citizens was an awareness of the aspirations and achievements of England. This, he felt, could be provided to adults as well as children. Because of these beliefs, Ney's interests were wider than those of his Winnipeg friends. As a result, his time was spent on activities which did not further the original cause of the Council.

A product of Victorian, English society, Ney did not understand or appreciate the growing strength of ordinary citizens. He was frankly elitist. He was convinced that improvements in society would automatically result if business men, politicians, academics, clergymen and teachers become more informed about the "mother country." The Winnipeg organizers had hoped to involve farm and labour organizations in a common front with business and industry to improve society. They had not succeeded but hoped a full time secretary would be able to gain the support of these groups. There is no evidence that Ney made any attempt to gain such support. Despite the growth of trade unions, agricultural cooperatives and new grass roots political parties, Ney concentrated his attention on those whom he saw as society's leaders.

As a result of this attitude, Ney was less concerned with the creation of a National Bureau intended to collect statistics, act as an educational clearinghouse and undertake paedagogical research, than in the creation of his proposed 'National University.' The Winnipeg group had hoped to staff their proposed Bureau with top-flight educators. Ney believed that such people could be of more use as traveling lecturers providing inspirational addresses to the leaders of Canadian society from coast to coast. In this way, he hoped, common bonds could be forged for the country, bonds which would bind Canada closer to the mother country. Ney's interest was, at that time, focused on the upcoming NCE conference in Toronto the following spring, and on the inauguration of the national lectureship scheme which constituted the backbone of his proposed National University.

The only attempt Ney seems to have made to contact the departments of education concerning the proposed Bureau was the publication and distribution of a pamphlet outlining the Council's proposals.[116] The proposals were simply reprinted from the agenda of the Toronto meeting and show no attempt to overcome the apprehensions that many provincial delegates had at that meeting.

It would be unfair, however, to blame Ney entirely for the sluggish progress of the Council. The body had been conceived at the peak of patriotic fervour in the midst of war. With victory the country relaxed and all of the cracks in society which had been papered over during the war suddenly broke out afresh. The difficulties of rehabilitating a citizen army, the dislocation of industry, the disenchantment of industrial workers, labour unrest, agriculture caught in a transition of methods during a post-war recession and the lingering sorrow for the thousands of casualties was the reality that Canada had to face. These real and mundane problems diverted attention away from high-flown hopes of the wartime and the heady ideals of the immediate post-war period. Federally, the disintegration of the Union government, the death of Laurier, the retirement of Borden, and the appearance of the Progressives had upset the political scene. Farmer and labour political parties had similarly disturbing effects on the provincial level. This political realignment had a serious impact on many of the people who had enthusiastically welcomed the creation of the NCE at the Winnipeg Conference. The key figures in the Winnipeg group, with the exception of Osborne, were members of the Conservative party, individuals who had wished the traditional aspects of society strengthened, not changed. Long range concerns about things such as civic and moral education were given little attention in the face of such immediate political problems.

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[116] National Council of Education, Bulletin No. 1, An Inter-Provincial Bureau of Educational Enquiry and Report (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.). See Appendix E.

In Winnipeg, where the executive of the Council was located, the situation in the post war period was particularly difficult. The city had been racked by a general strike which had polarized opinion prior to the Winnipeg conference. The NCE not only had a limited labour involvement, but the president, W. J. Bulman, had served as president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and was actively involved in the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association, organizations which were hardly looked upon with favour by Canadian workers.

From the outset, the Winnipeg members had attempted to attract agriculture to support the Council. As the buoyant agricultural economy of wartime gave way to a post-war agricultural depression, farmers turned their attention elsewhere. The creation of agricultural protest parties, the development of agricultural cooperatives, concerns over the fate of Canadian rail lines and the process of agricultural mechanization were all of more immediate concern to farmers than the NCE's educational plans. From the outset the NCE had been an urban organization in a country where most of the people and the educational problems were rural.

Even in the field of religion, events in Canadian society tended to divert attention away from this body which had been created to foster moral education. The social gospel movement, which had focused the attention of many Protestants on societal problems in previous decades, had lost the support of more conservative church members during the war and as a result of involvement of prominent social gospelers in such things as the Winnipeg strike. Those who remained firm to their principles tended to bypass idealistic organizations in favour of more practical measures. Involvement with labour unions, suffrage extension, prohibition and post war rehabilitation left them little time for other things.

Many of the Protestant churchmen who were so involved with the organization of the Winnipeg Conference and the founding of the NCE had become deeply involved in the church union movement in the post-war period. The union, which eventually involved the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches, tended to syphon away the interest of men like Chown and Pidgeon who had helped create the organization.

As a result, for three years the NCE had been left in the hands of Major Ney, many of whose interests were at cross-purposes to those of the Council. Having been given free rein by the executive, Ney tended to focus the attention of the organization on goals which he felt to be paramount. The drive to create a National Bureau was therefore regarded as secondary. Following the meeting of Ministers, Ney concentrated his efforts on arrangements for the national conference to be held in Toronto in 1923 and on establishing his "National University."

Chapter 5

PLANNING FOR THE PAST

By 1923 the period of post-war economic adjustment was over and Canada had returned to a peacetime footing. Agricultural prices had begun to rise and the resource rich provinces were beginning to reap the benefits of new developments in mining and forestry. The labour unrest which had followed the war had receded as workers turned their attention to grassroots building programmes. Industrialists, therefore, were able to concentrate on expanding in the favourable climate which prevailed.

With attention focused on making profits and with no threat to their security, the business elite in Canada lost much of the ardour for social reform which it had evinced only a few years earlier. At that time, when labour was scarce and untrained and a large immigrant population had to be taught to need and buy their products, businessmen had been anxious to improve education. By the mid-twenties the efforts of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association had begun to pay off. The federal government was assisting the provinces to provide vocational education, eight of the nine provinces had compulsory school attendance laws and many second generation Canadians were becoming integrated into Canadian society. Feeling that the world was unfolding as it should, few members of the business community were anxious to launch additional attempts to change the country.

Provincial governments were not about to embark on many new programmes either. Bolstered by the revenues from the sale of natural resources, provinces concentrated on attempting to attract industry.

Ottawa, meanwhile, turned its attention to foreign affairs. William Lyon Mackenzie King's Liberal government, unwilling to lose the international gains made during wartime, focused its efforts on achieving full autonomy. King continued to press for official recognition of Canada's sovereignty both inside and outside the Empire.

Although King's government had not concerned itself with what this sovereignty would mean, there were Canadians who had. Centred mainly in the universities, these nationalists focused their attention on uniting Canadians to strive toward common goals. These individuals stressed the importance of studying Canadian history and literature, supported Canadian artists and generally attempted to raise the self awareness of Canadians about their birthright.

This move did not go unchallenged. While the idea of imperial federation died with the war, many Canadians still retained a strong measure of pro-British sentiment. Most of Canada's elected representatives had been born in Canada and educated in schools designed to produce British subjects. Few of them evidenced any strong desire to break or alter the ties with Britain, and even fewer were willing to take stands which would alienate their electors. Organizations such as the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire provided meeting grounds for imperial sentiment. These groups, through resolutions at annual meetings, scholarship funds and donations of books and pictures to schools, provided proof of a loyalty to Great Britain which few politicians cared to challenge.

To pro-imperialists such as Frederick Ney, it did not appear too late to prevent Canada from drifting into engulfment by the United States. In the face of complacency on the part of both government and the private sector, the National Council began to shift its attention away from its original goal of creating better Canadians to that of ensuring that Canadians became more British and less like their American cousins. The NCE's second conference was a first step in this process.

The Toronto Conference

In January, 1922, the National Council office published a brochure outlining in some detail plans for a second national educational conference.[1] This conference had originally been scheduled for 1922 but had been postponed by the Council's executive. Even after the publication of these plans the executive decided not to go ahead with the meeting ". . . because insurmountable difficulties, financial and otherwise seemed to stand in the way. . .".[2] Sir Robert Falconer, reporting to the National Council of Canadian Universities in June, declared that ". . . in all probability the meeting of the National Council planned for the spring of 1923 would not be held."[3]

Members of the National Council who had accepted their positions with such enthusiasm in 1919 were becoming discouraged by their lack of success. No progress had been made toward the establishment of a National Bureau of Education, the proposed trust fund had not been established and, despite the meetings in Quebec City and Toronto, interprovincial cooperation seemed as remote as ever.

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[1] National Council of Education (Hereinafter abbreviated NCE), Retrospective; A Canadian Ideal in Education; Perspective (Winnipeg: NCE, [1922]).

[2] Winnipeg Free Press, Ney File, news clipping, Winnipeg Evening Tribune; May 4, 1923.

[3] National Conference of Canadian Universities (Hereinafter abbreviated NCCU), Proceedings of the Eighth Conference (Winnipeg: Man., June 16-17, 1922), p. 13.

Frederick Ney seemed undeterred by this lack of faith. He was convinced that the triennial conference was extremely important and did whatever was necessary to ensure that it would be held and would be a success. In 1922, when financial problems arose, he went for months without a salary and even paid numerous bills out of his own pocket.[4] Despite his earlier insistence that he would not become involved as a fund raiser, he undertook this task as well.

As part of his lecture circuit he was able to persuade service clubs to support the NCE's activities. The Winnipeg Rotary Club undertook to raise $35,000 by obtaining annual sustaining memberships of ten dollars each from individuals and organizations.[5] The 19th District Rotary convention in Regina in March, 1922, agreed to undertake complete responsibility for the maintenance of NCE headquarters.[6] By 1923 the National Council had disbursed $63,000, $58,000 of which had been contributed by service clubs in Western Canada.[7] Armed with these successes on the financial front, and despite the obvious opposition of the NCE executive, Ney made commitments to, and received commitments from, a number of prominent British speakers to attend the Toronto conference in 1923.[8] In the face of these arrangements the executive had no alternative - the conference had to be held.

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[4] Winnipeg Free Press, op. cit.

[5] School District of Winnipeg, Committee Minute Book 8, February 9, 1922, p. A 129.

[6] NCE, Monthly Notes, March, 1922, p. 4.

[7] B. L. Lightcap, "The National Conference on Education and Citizenship," The Western School Journal, XVIII (May, 1923), pp. 568-71.

[8] Winnipeg Free Press, op. cit.

In the planning and organization of the Toronto conference, Ney was fortunate in having a chairman of the conference committee who was as committed as he to its value, Vincent Massey, President of the Massey-Harris Company. Massey began the organizational work for the conference in 1921. A number of prominent Torontonians were enlisted to assist with the preparation. In some cases Massey had to first inform people about what the National Council was before he could obtain a commitment from them to assist him.[9]

Because of the efforts of Ney and Massey, the conference began to take shape by late 1922. The dates were set up so as to overlap with the annual convention of the Ontario Educational Association which was to meet in Toronto on April 2-4, 1923. The NCE conference was to continue until April 8th. It was hoped that such an arrangement would attract a wide range of individuals interested in and concerned with various aspects of education.

The theme of the conference was Education and Life; speakers from England, France and Canada were obtained to address the delegates on the value of a liberal education. Ney's priorities were quite clear in his selection of speakers. In January, 1922, he announced that Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, Lady Baden-Powell, and Albert Mansbridge from England had agreed to attend, as had three representatives from France but that ". . . the Council must now concern itself with the important question of speakers to represent the Dominion and the United States."[10] While a number of speakers from Canada were obtained, no Americans were represented at the Conference. The contrast with the 1919 Winnipeg Conference is quite striking. In Winnipeg, four major speakers were American while only one Englishman spoke. In Toronto, one third of the speeches were by Englishmen. Ney clearly wished to use the conference as a means of reinforcing the ties between Canada and England.

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[9] E.g. In asking Sir John Willison's aid, Massey described the NCE as ". . . an outgrowth of an educational conference held in Winnipeg, in 1919, [which] is now carrying out an extremely useful and quite unobtrusive work of coordination in relation to various departments of Education, under an energetic permanent Secretary. . .". Public Archives of Canada (Hereinafter abbreviated PAC) Sir John Willison Papers MG30 D14 Folder 205 Letter, Massey to Willison, October 17, 1921.

A similar trend is evident in the other activities which were arranged for the meeting. The New Zealand Department of Education had a display of school work, and art exhibits were displayed from various parts of the empire. A folk dancing demonstration was provided by Cecil Sharp, an English folk dance expert, who brought over a small group of specially trained undergraduates from Oxford to perform at the Conference. A demonstration of school-singing was undertaken by James Bates, of the Royal Academy of Music, who had travelled with fifty children selected from London choirs. A demonstration by F. H. Hayward, of the London County Council Education Committee, of his dramatic representations for education was also presented. Ney lost no opportunity to reinforce his cause of imperial unity.

The biggest problem facing the organizers was finances. The pledges of Rotary International and the contributions of the Departments of Education in Manitoba and Ontario were enough to finance the day to day expenses of the National Council, but a conference on such a scale was very expensive. The Toronto Rotary Club had committed itself to pay the entire cost of the conference, a sum estimated at $10,000.[11] Two weeks before the conference was due to start the committee was still short one third of that amount.[12] Canadians in 1923 did not appear as willing to support idealistic educational undertakings as they had four years earlier.

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[10] NCE, Retrospective, pp. 8-9.

Neither, apparently, were they as enthusiastic about attending educational conferences. Despite the fact that the meeting was being held in Canada's largest English-speaking city and in conjunction with the Ontario Education Association, it attracted fewer delegates than had registered in Winnipeg in 1919. Although Ney had invited departments of education and prominent educators from throughout the empire as well as organizations from across Canada,[13] only 1400 people[14] donned the silver delegate's badges at the conference registration.[15]

Delegates were required to pay for their own expenses, a fact which probably discouraged many who would have otherwise been interested.[16] None of the six delegate identification certificates sent to the

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[11] Ibid., p. 8.

[12] McGill University Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated McGUA), NCE, 4th Triennial Conference, Letter, Massey to James M. MacDonnell, March 24, 1923.

[13] NCE, Retrospective, p. 9.

[14] V. Massey "Prologue," in J. A. Dale, ed., Education and Life (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 3.

[15] NCE, National Conference on Education and Citizenship, Toronto, Ontario, April 4th to 8th, 1923 [Programme], p. 8. In contrast to the Winnipeg meeting, where almost all interested parties were granted full rights to attend all meetings and vote, the Toronto Committee allowed only official delegates to wear delegate badges, to attend all sessions and to vote at the business meetings.

Edmonton local committee were used,[17] and even the Winnipeg Rotary Club which had done so much to finance the previous conference decided that any member ". . . in Toronto at his own expense . . ." should be named to represent the club.[18]

The conference was greeted with a good deal of enthusiasm by the people of Toronto. Vincent Massey, as conference organizer, had nine sub-committees composed of fifty prominent citizens planning the meetings and the attendance proved the value of their efforts. Local churches were asked to cooperate by focusing their sermons that week on the role of the church in education.[19] Other Toronto organizations, ranging from the University of Toronto to the Womens Voters League, provided hospitality of various kinds to the delegates.

The conference consisted of ten general sessions given over to addresses, two business meetings attended by delegates only and a number of special events. While the Winnipeg Conference had identified problems in Canadian life which could be corrected by education, the general focus of most of the speeches in Toronto was the value of a broad liberal education in the solution of such problems. While such talks were to the obvious liking of Ney, who had arranged for the speakers, a measure of dissatisfaction was evident. The president of one of the NCE's local

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[16] University of Alberta Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UAA) Tory Papers, Box 23, File 904-1(A), Letter, Tory to Ney, March 20, 1923.

[17] UAA, op. cit., Letter, N. L. Burnett to Tory, March 16, 1923, attachment.

[18] Letter from Dorothy A. Merrick, Executive Secretary, Winnipeg Rotary Club, November 24, 1974, quoting from 1923 club records.

[19] UAA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Tory, February 28, 1923.

committees complained about the theoretical nature of the conference, wanting material of a more practical nature.[20] Even one of the speakers agreed:

> Our people have gone mad in the matter of the craving for addresses. I daresay those delivered at Toronto will be of a high standard, but, like a great many excellent sermons, the effect will probably be nil.[21]

The speeches were of a high standard. They were, unlike those of the Winnipeg meeting, lacking somewhat in the exuberant hopes for the future of that early post-war period. These addresses seemed, rather, to reassert and reinforce older values. Almost every address was concerned with the value of a liberal education. Rather than calls for action to attack specific problems in education, the speeches did appear very much like excellent sermons.

There was no indication in these addresses of any awareness of some of the controversial ideas, pressing problems or emerging issues in Canadian education. Despite recent federal involvement in technical education, this issue was not raised. Neither was the role of teachers organizations or parent-teacher organizations which had emerged since the Winnipeg conference. Progressive education, which had recently become popular in the United States, was ignored, as were questions about the education of new Canadians in Western Canada, and the issue of bilingual schooling in Manitoba and Ontario.

The conference did, however, recognize the bilingual nature of the country. Three of the invited speakers, Henri Hauser, J. J.

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[20] McGUA, _op_. _cit_., Letter, MacDonnell to Currie, February 23, 1923.

[21] _Ibid_., Letter, Currie to MacDonnell, February 26, 1923.

Champenois, and Emmanuel de Margerie, were from France and seven of the addresses were delivered in French.[22] This was consistent with the NCE declarations on the topic of bilingualism at the Winnipeg and Ottawa meetings and its proposals regarding the establishment of a Bureau of Education which would function in both languages.[23]

The growing breadth of the Council was also evident in the involvement of the clergy in the conference. A number of prominent Protestant clerics were involved as organizers of, or speakers at, the Winnipeg conference. Vincent Massey successfully involved a number of Catholics in his conference committee, including Toronto Archbishop Neil McNeil. Three of the addresses were given by Catholic clergymen.[24] As the NCE moved its focus from moral education to education on a broader scale, Catholic fears of the organization's intentions seem to have diminished.

More surprising, however, was the inclusion of Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner of Toronto's Holy Blossom Synagog as one of the speakers. His inclusion is an indication of the Council's desire to gain more acceptance among all Canadians. Brickner came the closest of any of the Canadian speakers to deal with pressing Canadian problems but, in so doing, seemed to be working at cross-purposes to Ney's imperialist ideals.

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[22] Four of the addresses given at the conference were not available for inclusion in the conference proceedings. One of these, "La Langue comme le Véhicule des Connaissances et du Développement," by Aurélien Belanger, Directeur des Écoles Anglo-francaise de'Ottawa, may have dealt specifically with problems relating to bilingualism in Canada.

[23] See Appendix F for the resolutions approved in Toronto in 1923.

[24] Rev. F. X. Marcotte, Rector of the University of Ottawa; Rev. Canon Emile Chartier, Vice-Rector of the University of Montreal; Monseigneur C. N. Gariepy, Rector of Laval University.

He was critical of American attempts to assimilate minorities in order to create a unified, standardized and conformist society and praised multilingualism and multiculturalism as offering an opportunity to enrich Canadian life by the creation of a national literature.

> Literature is always the resultant of the creative struggle of soul with soil. By soul we mean the rich depository of culture and tradition of the ethnic groups who compose our nation, by soil the great environment in which these groups are placed. The outcome of the struggle between soul and soil, the adjustment which necessarily takes place between these two in the struggle for life, produces what we call literature..
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> ....
>
> Canada has a unique opportunity of creating a national literature, because of her richness in distinctive culture groups, all of whom are struggling to become Canadians, and to give the land of their adoption their best. Theirs is a struggle of soul and soil. Theirs is a task of building up Canadian culture.[25]

This clear call for a unique and tolerant sense of Canadian nationalism stood alone at this conference. Most of the other speakers ignored the questions of Canadian identity which had inspired the delegates at Winnipeg. Many concerned themselves with bland platitudes about Canadian greatness,[26] others showed a tendency to view American and Canadian education as being one and the same,[27] or to view Canadian educational imperatives as being the same or similar to those of Britain.[28] One of the speakers was not only antagonistic to any encouragement of nationalism but was also openly derisive of the Irish, the

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[25] B. R. Brickner, "Literature as Gateway to Knowledge," in Dale, *op*. *cit*., pp. 70-71.

[26] E. g. Rev. T. H. Davies, "Education and Fellowship," in Dale, *op*. *cit*., pp. 180-181.

[27] E. g. H. M. Tory, "The Valuation of Education," in Dale, *op*. *cit*., *passim*.

[28] E. g. M. Sadler, "Tradition and Freedom in Education," in Dale, *op*. *cit*., p. 27.

Jews, the social gospel and marriage between the "higher" and "lower" races.[29] Such a narrow attitude seems to have been as much out of step with the intent of the conference organizers as Brickner's liberal approach was.

Aside from Brickner,[30] the only speaker who followed in the footsteps of his Winnipeg predecessors was Sir Robert Baden-Powell. Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scout Movement, gave the only "practical" address in an otherwise purely theoretical conference. He identified the main concern of the conference as the teaching of the "humanities" and insisted that this should not obscure the more important concern for "humanity". He called for public action to remedy poverty so that the system of public education could give the poor child ". . . even more attention than his better off brother, to counterbalance the ruinous influences of his surroundings."[31] He quoted a question printed on the conference programme: "Cannot humane and Christian ideals of sacrifice and unselfishness, of service and cooperation, be consciously enthroned in the schools of a nation?" and went on to claim that the Boy Scout Movement proved that such ideals were both practical and workable. He called for the reformation of society by using the schools and auxiliary educational agencies to promote character training, health, skills, tolerance, piety, justice, chivalry, loyalty and cooperation. Such action, he claimed, could transform society. His idealistic statements were backed up by the existence of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements which were attempting to promote those very ideals.

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[29] M. Hutton, "History and Humanity," in Dale, op. cit., passim.

[30] Massey's "Prologue" and W. J. Bulman's "Epilogue" in Dale op. cit., also dealt with the practical work of the NCE.

[31] R. Baden-Powell, "Goodwill Training for Citizenship," in Dale, op. cit., p. 237.

In organizing the Toronto conference, it was decided to opt for an increase in the number of speeches and to dispense with discussion periods. Such an approach was quite consistent with Ney's views both of education and of the purpose of the conference. Education, for Ney, was the process of informing the uninformed, and the conference, he felt, was designed to put Canadians in touch with correct thinking. The Winnipeg conference had allowed ample time for discussion after each speaker and its elimination was not favourably received by many delegates.[32] The first motion passed at the business meeting urged a return to the previous format at the next conference.[33] This lack of discussion seems to have been symptomatic of a larger problem. According to one delegate, the business meetings were even worse.

> There was little of the democratic atmosphere where free discussion is welcomed, not that it was repressed in any way, but it was not sought nor encouraged. As a result, no constructive policies were put forward, no expression of the various reactions arising out of the conference was secured, no interchange of ideas between delegates, only a few formal non contentious resolutions passed and a slate of officers and committees put through. Thus through what appeared to be the rather self-satisfied attitude of the committees, the general mass of the conference failed to secure expression. The greatest educational conference that Canada has ever held, with as great a series of addresses as it is possible to get, the proper climax failed of realization through the absence of that truly democratic attitude, that desires above all things, the broadest, freest and most varied expression of judge-

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[32] Alfred White, "The National Conference Report," The Western School Journal, XVIII, (May, 1923), p. 572.

[33] Dale, op. cit., p. 307.

> ment, so that out of the wisdom of the many the richest conclusion could be realized.[34]

The lack of discussion and bland generalized resolutions passed by the conference were a reflection of the way in which the Council had operated over the preceding three years. Since the meeting in Ottawa in February, 1920, a full Council meeting had not been held. Increasingly, Ney had assumed more and more power. As a result, the delegates in Toronto were not reacting in the same way as the optimistic educational reformers who had attended the Winnipeg meeting.

Vincent Massey, in the opening address to the conference, had pointed out that there were twenty-eight educational organizations operating in Canada and asked whether there was a need for a twenty-ninth.[35] Bulman's committee, in 1917, had intended to do three things: to raise the awareness of Canadians of the importance of education, to persuade them to become involved in improving the quality of citizens by improving the education being provided, and to press for the creation of a central agency which could assist them in this undertaking. Bulman, in his closing address to the Toronto conference, hinted that while the NCE's existence was crucial, this would not always be so.[36] He also reiterated the resolution passed by the 1919 Winnipeg meeting expressing strong support for agencies such as Boy Scouts and Canadian Girls in Training. These auxiliary agencies, he claimed, were already carrying out educational work, needing only national direction to transform Canadian education. The provision of this direction was the role the NCE had set for itself - that of inspiring others to action.

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[34] White, _op_. _cit_., p. 574.

[35] Massey, "Prologue," in Dale, _op_. _cit_., pp. 4-5.

[36] Bulman, "Epilogue," in _ibid_., p. 297.

This was not necessarily the role that Major Ney felt that Council should have. One of the motions which Ney sponsored in Toronto concerned the establishment of a Canadian children's magazine.[37] Two of the delegates pointed out that the Canadian Junior Red Cross Association was in the process of publishing just such a periodical. It had not been the intent of the NCE's founders that the new body should go into competition with existing organizations. They envisioned its role as one of inspiration and coordination. Ney, however, saw the Council and its projects as means by which he could accomplish his own ends.

In Toronto a committee was struck to recommend a reorganization of the Council. The changes that were brought about as a result of their deliberations markedly changed the NCE.[38]

The first change was the official recognition of "Local Committees" of the Council in centres across the country. In many cases such committees had been established by William Frederick Osborne in 1917 and 1918 while promoting the Winnipeg meeting. These committees were reorganized to consist of representatives of auxiliary educational agencies and other individuals interested in education. Under the new organizational structure the presidents of these local committees would become members of the National Council.

At the national level, the number of provincial representatives elected by the triennial conference was reduced from thirty-six to ten,[39] and the number of elected members at large was reduced from fourteen to five. These fifteen people and the table officers were to comprise the executive of the National Council. Departments of education and national voluntary educational agencies were also asked to appoint representatives to the executive.

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[37] See Appendix F.

[38] See Appendix G.

[39] One member was selected from each province except Quebec where both linguistic groups were represented.

Whereas the Council elected in Winnipeg had met in Ottawa shortly after the conference to plan the Council programme for the next three years, the new Council's next scheduled meeting was in three years time - the day prior to the next conference. Planning was left in the hands of the table officers.

While the new organization had the appearance of "grass-roots" democracy by including locally elected local council presidents on the Council, the diffuse nature of the structure made it unworkable. To work efficiently, strong local committees had to be established. As Osborne found in 1917, this would take dogged determination in some areas. It would also require strong leadership from the NCE executive to create a programme with which local groups could identify.

The creation of a large executive gave the appearance of representation yet it created a structure which was unwieldly. Unlike the executive of the first Council, this one was drawn from across the country. Because it was difficult to assemble this widely dispersed group, the result was the concentration of authority in the hands of the newly elected President, Vincent Massey, and the Executive Secretary, Major Ney. Even this created problems because Ney's Canadian office was in Winnipeg while Massey lived in Toronto.

Conference organizers had declared that the purpose of the meeting was: "To develop a Canadian consciousness, to get parents, teachers, trustees and all others united on a program for good citizenship . . . ."[40] How successful was it? In terms of decisions the conference was not successful. The only resolutions approved were changes and a few generalized statements in favor of a national bureau of education and adult education.

Although decisions were not being made: "Both speakers and audience were satisfied that there was something more important . . . namely, the creation of sentiment in favour of the higher view of education."[41] If press coverage is taken as an indicator, the conference did result in an increased awareness of the importance of education on the part of Canadians. The conference resulted in news stories and editorials in both French and English-speaking Canada. Montreal La Presse was particularly impressed with the bilingual nature of the conference and gave front page billing to the fact that speakers were praising French as well as English literature.[42] The Presbyterian Witness had nothing but praise for the gathering and the Catholic Record, while somewhat critical of some aspects, gave the meeting coverage in three separate issues.[43]

Not all of the press reaction was favourable. A Toronto paper, in its comments, not only showed that the conference was focussing national attention on public education, it also showed that the country was still beset by narrow regionalism. In praising a talk given by a western Canadian, the Toronto Globe editorialized:

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[40] "National Conference on Education," The Western School Journal, XVII, (April, 1922), p. 128.

[41] "The National Conference on Education," The Western School Journal, XVIII, (May, 1923), p. 100.

[42] Montreal, La Presse, avril 6, 1923, p. 1.

[43] PAC, National Conference on Education and Citizenship, 1919-23, Newsclippings.

> It is encouraging to have so broadly Canadian a deliverance from an educational leader in the West, and so pronounced a repudiation of local, religious and racial sectionalism.[44]

This narrow parochialism was matched by Le Devoir which devoted only one line to the NCE conference and then proceeded to deluge its readers with extensive coverage of the meetings of the Franco - Ontarian Association the following week.

The need for an agency to create understanding among Canadians was evident. Could the NCE fill this role? Its success in its three major undertakings, the expansion of the newly formed National University, the planned efforts to improve Canadian school text books and the creation of a National Bureau of Education, would determine this.

The National University

In July, 1920, only three months after taking over as NCE secretary, Ney unveiled his plans for a National University. In a speech to a Montreal Kiwanis Club he proposed a form of adult education which, he suggested, would achieve the Council's aim of raising the consciousness of Canadians about education. He had rejected the national propaganda campaign which the Ottawa Council meeting had wanted to implement, in favour of a number of lecture series.

The idea was not an original one. In Glasgow a £20,000 fund entitled the Stevenson Lectureship had been established to provide citizenship lectures. The first recipient of the award, Sir William Henry Hadow, Vice Chancellor of Sheffield University, was paid by the fund to provide free lectures on citizenship to the University, the business community and the general public in that city.[45] Ney, anticipating the establishment of the proposed NCE trust fund, suggested a similar, yet more elaborate, structure for the national extension university that he was recommending.

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[44] Toronto Globe, editorial, April 5, 1923, (emphasis added.)

The founders of the National Council had envisaged the experts employed to reform Canadian schools being involved in such things as curriculum reform and textbook writing. Ney felt that, in addition, the Council should establish a series of lectureships not only in citizenship but also in such areas as English and French literature, history, geography, music, recreation and adult education. He hoped to attract a series of prominent individuals to undertake short term appointments as lecturers in these fields. Besides making nation wide lecture tours, Ney hoped that these individuals would assist the National Council in its school oriented plans and provide service to departments of education, universities, clubs and other organizations.

In establishing this "university", Ney had no advantages other than his idealistic vision and his ability to persuade others of the worth of his cause. The people he was interested in attracting as lecturers were prominent figures whose time was valuable. The trust fund had not been established and the NCE was dependent on donations even for operating costs. Ney was undeterred.

He suggested that universities, service clubs and other such organizations could each take on the responsibility of financing one "chair" in the proposed National University. Lecturers were to be appointed for an academic year and, by touring the country, could serve both the sponsoring organization and the public at large.[46] The idea seemed to meet with a measure of support from all quarters. The service clubs welcomed the opportunity of hearing outstanding speakers. Saskatchewan's deputy minister of education, Augustus Ball, went even further.

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[45] NCE, Retrospective, p. 2..

> He said that, speaking for his Department, the Council could render them no greater service than to secure two or three prominent men who would give them say a week each to the Teacher's Summer Schools. He said they were not anxious to secure Educationists, but men who could inspire the Teaching Profession.[47]

The only objections to the scheme came from presidents of universities. Henry Marshall Tory, President of the University of Alberta, claimed that the name, National University, was scarcely suited to the nature of the programme and its scope.[48] President Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan was even more blunt:

> A university is recognized as a degree-conferring institution the world over, and a loose use of the name is discreditable. The practice of our American friends in this matter make them ridiculous in the eyes of old Countrymen.[49]

As a result of this criticism, the name, National University, was discreetly dropped and, by the time the plan was to be put into effect, Ney was calling it the National Lectureship.

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[46] Ibid., p. 11.

[47] University of Toronto Library, (Hereinafter abbreviated UTL) "National Council of Education, Extracts from the Office Diary for the Second Quarter, ending June 30th, 1921," mim ographed, p. 4.

[48] Ibid.

[49] University of Saskatchewan Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated USA), Presidential Papers, Series 1-50, General Correspondence (Na-Ne), Letter, Murray to Ney, April 27, 1921.

Ney launched the project by carrying out a lecture tour of his own. Beginning in the summer of 1920 he had toured the country talking about his ideas on Canadian education to Rotary clubs, Kiwanis clubs and Canadian clubs. In all quarters his ideas received a favourable response. The Canadian public appeared to be ready for such a series of lectures. Ney's lectures were followed by a series of talks by other speakers on a rather limited basis. In the spring of 1921 the National Council and the Department of Education of Manitoba and Ontario sponsored lectures in Winnipeg and Toronto by Sir John Martin Harvey which were an unqualified success.[50] These were followed, in 1922, by a series of addresses in Winnipeg by Rev. Dr. Eber Crummy, former principal of Wesley College, on the purposes of the NCE.[51] Since these talks were well received, Ney decided to go ahead with his plans.

At the National Conference of Canadian Universities in June, 1922, Sir Robert Falconer, acting as the NCE spokesman, reported that Sir Henry Newbolt was undertaking a lecture tour of Canada in the spring of 1923 and intending to spend one week in each university centre.[52] Delegates to the conference were asked to consider sponsoring the first lectureship. Conference minutes do not even record any discussion of the question, but the secretary reported that general approval had been given to inaugurate the scheme.[53] Although the conference, as a body, was not empowered to commit funds from member institutions, Ney proceeded to confirm with Sir Henry Newbolt plans for the first lecture tour. Having committed the Council by inviting Newbolt, Ney then turned to the question of funding the visit. Letters were sent to University presidents reminding them:

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[50] UTL, _op_. _cit_., p. 3.

[51] NCE, _Monthly Notes_, March, 1922, p. 3.; NCE, _An Address on 'A Canadian Ideal in Education_,' Programme for a March 24, 1922, speech by Dr. Eber Crummey.

[52] NCCU, _loc_. _cit_.

[53] UAA, _Tory Papers_, 902-3d(c), Letter, Murray to Tory, March 6, 1923.

> Sir Henry Newbolt's visit to inaugurate the National Lectureship scheme was endorsed by the Universities of Canada at their meeting in the summer of this year and it may be assumed I think, that the expenses of his visit will be borne by them jointly.[54]

Although Ney sent a circular letter to all of the university presidents, asking whether they approved of the plans, whether they would cooperate with them and to what extent and asking for suggestions,[55] decisions were made, it would seem, by Ney himself. Letters were sent to local committees requesting them to prepare for the lectures. Presidents of local committees were expected to call on representatives from local service clubs for assistance in creating a successful programme in each centre.[56] The flaw in this arrangement was that in many places the local committee was in disarray. In some places these committees had been established by Osborne in 1917 and had done nothing since then but send delegates to the Winnipeg Conference. Although the NCE was supplying large posters to each centre such assistance was only sufficient if the speakers were important enough to attract an audience with little organization.

Sir Henry Newbolt was the first recipient of one of the university "chairs." His lectureship was officially entitled ". . . the National Lectureship in English literature . . .,"[57] The understanding that he received from Ney, was, however, somewhat different. Ney apparently told him that the National Council was ". . . founding a travelling Imperial Lectureship by a joint subsidy from all the big Universities . . . ."[58] Ney had, undoubtedly, persuaded Newbolt to undertake the tour as part of his patriotic duty and Newbolt, in turn, looked upon the programme as a "missionary" effort.[59] To Ney's mind, however, there was probably no duplicity involved. For him a good lecture on English literature was, of necessity a lecture on imperialism. As well, Ney was firmly convinced that Canadians needed enlightenment in order to be converted to the imperial ideal.

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[54] Ibid., 902-3d(2), Letter, Tory to Murray, 27 November 1922.

[55] UAA, op. cit., Form letter, Ney to Tory, n.d.

[56] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Tory, November 8, 1922.

Newbolt's comments on his trip reveal a great deal both about the Council's programme and about Canadians at that time. Although the talks were designed to inspire ties with England among the lukewarm, Newbolt stated:

> . . . my audience makes things difficult for me by their great simplicity: they are stirred by associations and thoughts of England, and they even weep at times . . . they say it's 'your English voice.'[60]

It seems to have been a case of preaching to the converted.

Canadians were, in 1922, caught up in the perpetual Canadian identity crisis. Newbolt described a New Brunswick family as " . . . all typically Canadian . . . but in their opinion thoroughly English."[61] That the schools were active in maintaining the British ties is evident in Newbolt's comments regarding one of his poems:

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[57] USA, ibid., Letter, Ney to Murray, January 24, 1923.

[58] Margaret Newbolt, ed., The Later Life and Letters of Sir Henry Newbolt (London: Faber and Faber, 1942), p. 295.

[59] Ibid., p. 300.

[60] Ibid., p. 299.

> As for 'Play up and play the Game' - its kind of a Frankenstein's monster that I created thirty years ago and I now find it falling on my neck at every street corner. In vain do I explain what is poetry: they roar for 'Play Up': they put it on their flags and on their war memorials and on their tombstones: its their National Anthem.[62]

Canadian schools had created a generation of British-Americans whose infatuation with the culture of the mother country left no room for appreciating that of their own land.

In most respects the tour was an unqualified success. Newbolt gave eighty-one addresses in twenty-seven cities during February and March, 1923.[63] He spoke to overflow audiences in every centre.[64] Fifteen years later Massey, Canada's High Commissioner in London, wrote:

> The echoes of his sojourn in the Western provinces one still hears. I doubt that any visitor from this country ever made such an impression with people of that region.[65]

Although Newbolt's tour was, in itself, a success, some problems did arise. Although Ney assumed that Canadian Universities would be enthusiastic about providing financial support for such a famous lecturer on English literature, this did not prove to be entirely the case. By late 1922, the lectureship tours not only of Newbolt but also of Sir Michael Sadler and Sir Robert and Lady Baden-Powell had been arranged. At that time Ney approached the Universities for financial contributions, noting that the universities had endorsed the financing of the Newbolt tour at their meeting in June.[66] He calculated the anticipated cost of Newbolt's visit and proposed a sliding scale of contributions depending on the size of the institution.[67] He expected the donations from the universities would more than meet the costs of Newbolt's visit and that the foundation stone of the "chair in English literature" could be laid in this way.[68]

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[61] _Ibid_., p. 296.

[62] _Ibid_., p. 300.

[63] _Ibid_., p. 298.

[64] Bulman, _op_. _cit_., p. 299.

[65] Newbolt, _ibid_., p. 300.

Ney's plans did not work out that well. In the face of Ney's repeated demands for funding,[69] at least one university president began to question whether the universities had ever committed themselves to financing Newbolt's visit.[70] He was informed: "The minutes [of the National Conference of Canadian Universities] state no particular amount promised, but, just approval of the Universities' support."[71] Not all universities decided to support Newbolt's tour. The seven which did contributed a total of $1889.90 towards the total cost of $3,427.74.[72] The remaining costs were paid by Canadian Clubs from across Canada, by the National Council itself and by Edward Wentworth Beatty, the President of Canadian Pacific Railway.[73] Despite this difficulty in financing this first tour, Ney persevered with the other lectures which he had arranged.

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[66] UAA, _op_. _cit_., Letter, Ney to Tory, November 8, 1922.

[67] _Ibid_., Letter, Ney to Tory, February 3, 1923. The assessment ranged from $500 for the University of Toronto to $100 for the small Maritime universities.

[68] USA, _op_. _cit_., Letter, Ney to Murray, January 24, 1923.

[69] UAA, _op_. _cit_., Ney to Tory, November 8, 1922; February 3, 1923; March 15, 1923, March 30, 1923.

[70] UAA, _Tory Papers_, 902-3d(c) Letter, Tory to Murray, November 27, 1922; March 3, 1923.

[71] _Ibid_., Letter, Murray to Tory, March 6, 1923. The published conference proceedings reveal nothing except R. Falconer's report stating that Newbolt's visit was "mooted". NCCU, _op_. _cit_., p. 13.

In the year following the Toronto conference, eight other NCE lecturers toured Canada. These individuals provided Canadians with a range of views regarding such diverse fields as politics, history, education, international affairs and youth organizations.[74]

A number of changes were required in the initial plans, however. There was an evident lack of enthusiasm for funding lecture chairs, even amongst the universities. Although Ney never abandoned this idea, it was decided that the structure of the National Council had to be reorganized to facilitate the system of lectureships. The Toronto conference had decided to establish or reorganize NCE local committees.[75] Ney developed a lectureship system by which he arranged for speakers and planned their itineraries while local committees received the benefit of the speakers in return for providing them with lodgings and paying for their travel expenses.

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[72] UAA, Tory Papers, Box 23, 104-1(a), National Council of Education Lectureship Fund Statement, covering letter dated October 23, 1923. Only MGill University, University of Toronto, Dalhousie University, University of Manitoba, University of Saskatchewan, University of British Columbia and Mount Allison University made contributions.

[73] McGUA, op. cit., Letter, P. G. Webber (President of Montreal Rotary Club) to Curry, February 19, 1923. The letter claims that the Montreal Rotary Club donated $200 towards Newbolt's tour. This amount does not appear in the statement issued by the NCE.

[74] See Appendix H for a complete list of NCE lectures.

[75] See Appendix J for a list of centres in which local committees of the National Council functioned.

Even these local committees did not always function the way Ney felt they should, and conflict arose between the locals and the NCE headquarters. Ney had a tendency to make decisions based on what he felt to be right and to commit others to honour the arrangements which he made. Such a procedure did not please the businessmen and university executives who frequently made up NCE local committees.[76]

In addition, Ney was enthralled by England and appeared to stand in awe of English dignitaries. Such an attitude grated on both those Canadians who, because of their nationalism, rejected what they saw as attempts to perpetuate cultural colonialism or those who tended to be somewhat pro-American in their outlook. These differences in opinion continued over the next two decades, the gulf between the positions getting wider instead of narrower.

Another problem that became evident as a result of Newbolt's tour also centred around the purpose of the undertaking. In outlining the scheme Ney had declared that it would allow Canadians to come in contact with ". . . much of the most recent thought and vision upon those vital and imperative social issues which confront this generation."[77] He felt that the lectures should be broadly based, exposing Canadians to a wide range of English cultural influences, using the example of the role played by the Welsh National Council of Music on the life of Wales, or the impact of Danish efforts in physical education on civic life in

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[76] E.g. Ney's attempt to collect funds for presentations to Newbolt and Sadler on the completion of their lecture tours brought a flat refusal from Tory, who saw it as an attempt on Ney's part to bring glory on himself. UAA, Tory Papers 902-3d(c) Letter, Tory to Murray, April 30, 1923.

[77] NCE, Retrospective, p. 11.

Denmark.[78] Even before the lectureships were inaugurated, however, differences arose. The four western departments of education wished the NCE to procure lecturers for summer schools for teachers.[79] After the initial lectures, Murray, of the University of Saskatchewan, complained that the speakers had not stayed in each centre for a week as the original plans called for. Falconer of the University of Toronto had replied:

> I agree pretty much with what you say as to the desirability of having men stay longer and give lectures to students. However, these lectures as I see them were for the purpose of teaching the imagination of the public, and I think the universities have done a good thing in making it possible for the public to hear several of the outstanding men from England in educational matters.[80]

The western provinces obviously expected more from these lectures than just general cultural uplifting, a view that was not shared by Ney or Falconer.

Ney did make an attempt to meet what he saw as the legitimate demands of these provinces. In 1924 he was able to enlist the services of Robert Finch, director of London's Vacation Course in Education, to undertake a series of short summer courses for Canadian teachers. British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario were to share the expense of bringing him to Canada and of paying his honorarium. The scheme received the endorsement not only of those four provinces but also of Quebec and Saskatchewan which were unable to take advantage of his services.[81] Unfortunately, Finch became ill and was unable to meet this commitment.[82] Nonetheless the NCE's potential in this field was evident.

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[80] University of Toronto Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UTA), *Presidential Papers*, Falconer, Box 73, W. A. Murray file Letter, Falconer to Murray, April 11, 1923.

Ney also made an attempt for the 1923-24 lectures to obtain speakers more geared directly to education than in the first year.[83] While such lectures may have appealed to teachers, they did not generally appeal to the public at large. As a result there were a number of protests. Vincent Massey, the NCE president, expressed disappointment in connection with several of the speakers and took a direct hand in selecting those for the 1924-25 year.[84]

During the following year an attempt was made to meet the need of both educators and the general public by establishing a "chair" in education with the aid of the universities and the various departments of education. John Lewis Paton, the Headmaster of the Manchester Grammar School, spent twelve months in Canada, lecturing to teachers, students and the general public. During this time he not only taught some summer classes to teachers, he was also able to assist John Harold Putman and George Moir Weir in their Educational Survey in British Columbia.[85] He spent at least one month in each of British Columbia,

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[81] Archives of Quebec (Hereinafter abbreviated AO), Department de l'Instruction publique, 177-1924, passim.

[82] NCE, Report of the Executive Secretary, 1926. N.p.: N.pub., N.d., p. 7.

[83] UAA, Tory Papers, Box 23, 904-1(A), NCE circular to Council Members and local committees regarding proposed 1923-24 lectures, n.d.

[84] Ibid., NCE circular letter, Massey to all Council members, March 24, 1924.

[85] "Distinguished Visitor Visits B.C.", B.C. Teacher, February, 1924, p. 128.

Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and the Maritimes.[86] Because of the time he was able to spend in each province, he not only addressed audiences in large centres but was also able to visit a number of small towns and hold meetings there as well.[87] As a result of Paton's tour of Canada, he was invited to become President of Newfoundland Memorial College and Normal school.

Once again, finances were a problem. Paton donated his time without remuneration and the National Council met his expenses.[88] Ney turned to both the local committees and to the provincial departments of education to assist in defraying these costs. Alberta did not contribute toward the operation[89] and did not, therefore, share in the programme. It was clear that in order for this type of operation to be undertaken a better system of financing had to be arranged.

Just such a possibility emerged at the annual Convention of Canadian Clubs in Victoria in September, 1923. Forty individual clubs agreed at that meeting to cooperate with the NCE in a plan for obtaining speakers who would be of interest to both groups.[90] Ney was to act as liaison between the two organizations. Under the plan the participating Canadian Clubs would contribute ten per cent of their annual club membership fees in return for four distinguished speakers from Great Britain each year.[91] This arrangement, along with contributions from interested individuals and groups, enabled the establishment of the lectureships on a firm footing.

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[86] UAA, *Tory Papers*, 904-1(A) Letter, S. Silcox to Ney, October 28, 1924; Elizabeth Ewen to Tory, November 24, 1924.

[87] NCE, *Report of the Retiring President*, *1926*. n.p: n.pub., n.d., p. 9.

[88] "Distinquished Visitor Visits B.C." *loc cit*.

[89] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B), Letter, Ney to W. A. Kerr, January 16, 1925.

[90] Vincent Massey, "Plans for the National Council", *B.C. Teacher*, April, 1924, p. 175.

Under such an arrangement any idea of specific lectureship "chairs" had to be shelved but Ney attempted to attract individuals from a range of different areas in order to provide as broad an education as possible to the people who came to hear the speakers. Although he still hoped to establish ~~specific~~ "chairs" with the assistance of voluntary agencies, a more stable overall financial arrangement had to be established. He felt that the close ties with the Canadian Clubs tended to limit attendance to members of that organization and failed to reach those citizens he was most interested in educating.

As a result, he attempted to persuade local committees to establish a system of sustaining memberships. He hoped to enlist at least five hundred sustaining members in the National Council who would each pledge $10.00 annually to the sponsorship of lectures. These sustaining members would be assured of reserved seats at lectures, receive copies of all Council publications and participate fully in all activities of the local committee's activities.[92] In this way he hoped to provide funding and still assure free seating for the general public to hear NCE lecturers. This measure was also somewhat successful. After one year as president of the NCE, Massey was able to write:

> The finances of the Council . . . have been put upon a

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[91] Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1923 (Toronto: Canadian Review Company Limited, 1924), p. 786.

[92] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B) Circular Letter from Ney, February 9, 1925.

> very satisfactory basis the principal source of revenue being private subscriptions from a number of persons and corporations in Toronto and Montreal. The Ontario Government has continued its generous grant, and we hope that other provinces will do what they can towards the assistance of our work.[93]

Because of the nature of the lectureship scheme some dissatisfaction was inevitable. From the outset of the programme there were complaints that, although the universities were being asked to assist in funding, they had no control over the selection of speakers.[94] Complaints also arose over the timing of speaker's arrival in various centres. Although Ney did attempt to have the touring speakers arrive at a time which would enable them to speak to conferences and other large gatherings, this was not always possible.[95] Speakers often arrived during the university examination period[96] or during the summer when teachers and students were on vacation.[97] Because of the way in which lecturers were recruited, there were times when local committees were not satisfied with either the speakers or their time or length of their visit and challenged Ney's right to arrange itineraries without prior consultation with local committees.[98] There were other times when popular speakers themselves limited the number of centres they would visit, causing dissatisfaction in the centres not included and resentment against Ney.[99]

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[93] UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 84, Massey File, Letter Massey to Falconer, March 26, 1924.

[94] UAA, Tory Papers, Box 23, 904-1(A), Letter, Tory to Ney, February 21, 1923.

[95] "Allan S. Walker", B. C. Teacher, March, 1925, p. 151.

[96] UAA, Tory Papers, 902-3d(c) Letter, Murray to Tory, May 2, 1923; 904-1(B), Letter, Tory to Ney, March 3, 1923; 904-1(B), Marginal note on letter, E. Ewen to J. Blue, January 28, 1926.

[97] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 177-1924, Letter, G. W. Parmalee to Ney, January 28, 1924.

[98] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B), Letter Tory to Ney, March 3, 1925.

By the third year of operation, however, the "National University" was functioning well. Two dozen prominent speakers had toured the country and spoken to teachers, students and the general public on a wide range of topics. The problems in the programme existed not at the national but at the local level.

The Local Committees

In order for Ney's lectureship scheme to function properly a series of strong, well organized local committees were required. In many centres the organization was virtually non-existent. E. W. Beatty, after having been, (at least nominally) chairman of the Montreal local committee for nearly two years, wrote: "I must confess that I had forgotten, if I ever knew, that I was chairman of the Local Committee of the National Council of Education."[100] This was not unusual. Although Ney did contact individuals across the country prior to the Toronto conference requesting that committees be established, many centres did not have NCE locals.[101] Even where committees were in existence it was evidently not too clear as to who belonged to them. One "chairman" wrote:

> Major Ney has not even told me who were finally decided upon

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[99] Ibid., Box 23, 904-1(A), Letter, Ney to Tory, February 27, 1923.

[100] Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives, E. W. Beatty Letter Book, 120, Beatty to J. M. MacDonnell, January 15, 1925.

[101] UAA, Tory Papers, Box 23, 904-1(A), Letter, Ney to Tory, November 8, 1922, and January 9, 1923; McGUA, op. cit., Letter, Beatty to Curry, February 21, 1922.

> as members, except the few of us who met with him, nor who the chairman of the committee is. I am afraid he is rather casual in these matters.[102]

Requests for assistance from Ney in establishing strong local organizations resulted in very little help. In response to a letter in early 1923 asking for aid in reactivating a local committee in Edmonton, Ney sent two news clippings from a Saint John newspaper and an extract from a letter from Kingston.[103] Despite repeated letters requesting assistance in organizing the local or information on who constituted the local, the Edmonton members received little from NCE headquarters except information bulletins, lectureship itineraries, requests for funding and printed material which listed Henry Marshall Tory as president of the local, a post which he clearly rejected.[104]

At the local level Ney managed to earn the enmity of a number of NCE supporters.[105] Tory blamed local disorganization on Ney's inaction. In other centres the criticism of Ney's approach was even more blunt. Sir Arthur Currie wrote ". . . to get these local committees going you must do a little more yourself than what has been done in Montreal."[106] Unfortunatly this lack of organization at the local level was true for a number of centres, especially for those in which local executive members were important figures rather than interested individuals.

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[102] UAA, Tory Papers, Box 23, 904-1(A), Letter, Tory to J. Collinson, February 21, 1923.

[103] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Tory, February 3, 1923.

[104] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B), Letter, Tory to Ney, March 3, 1925. Despite his faults, Ney was not alone to blame for the protracted dispute with the Edmonton local committee. From the correspondence it is evident that Tory did little to attempt to organize the local committee. He had a tendency to refuse to make decisions on his own, usually preferring to ask the advice of Murray, Falconer or Currie before acting. It is also clear that, rather than taking action, Tory allowed problems to drift. In addition, he appears to have taken a strong personal dislike to Ney. UAA, Tory Papers, passim.

[105] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B), Letter, Tory to Massey, March 2, 1925.

Ney suffered from a number of faults that interfered with the proper functioning of the local committees. His plans for a National Bureau, National University and the National Conferences for the National Council and his work with the Overseas Education League occupied much of his time and he was unable to spend time in each centre organizing local committees. He therefore had to rely on the work done by Osborne six years before or contact leading citizens involved in service clubs to get the locals established. He also had a tendency to select people for Council positions because of their social status rather than for their interest in education. He had difficulty understanding that others might not share his enthusiasm for certain projects and tended to assume that just because he made a suggestion that it would be followed. Even more troublesome was his seeming inability to function at a concrete level. He had a tendency to think and write in sweeping generalizations which sounded impressive but which gave little assistance in trying to administer programmes. One dissatisfied local member wrote to another: "I am not surprised to hear that you have had more unsatisfactory correspondence with Major Ney: that seems to be a fixed part of the programme."[107] Added to this, his letters often were written in an imperious and autocratic tone, and those who did not agree with his imperialist idea about the direction of Canada's future found this particularly irritating.

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[106] McGUA, op. cit., Letter Currie to Ney, January 18, 1925. Ney replied the following day to the effect that establishing the NCE single-handed was not easy either.

[107] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B), Letter, W. A. Kerr to J. Blue, December 9, 1925.

In some centres, however, the local committee functioned very well. Those committees which were well organized and in sympathy with the work of the Council profited from the lectureship system. Such committees drafted programmes well in advance of the arrival of the speakers.[108] This tended to be particularly true of centres in Western Canada and the Maritimes where distinguished visitors were somewhat of a rarity and in centres where the NCE locals were under the direction of individuals directly involved in education. Following the agreement with the Canadian Clubs in 1923, many of the local committees functioned more efficiently. The Canadian Clubs had developed an expertise in dealing with lecture tours which local NCE committees were able to utilize.

Despite Ney's faults he often showed a measure of insight and responsibility which was lacking in local committees. In the formation of the Montreal local he pointed out the lack of businessmen members of this "lay movement" as well as criticising the committee for its lack of French-Canadians.[109] Both of these flaws were later corrected. In the same manner he was able to point out to university critics of his lectureships that the programme was intended to involve the public, not to be a purely university undertaking.[110]

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[108] E.g. The Re[illegible]na local made careful preparations to make maximum use of Sir Henry Newbolt on his arrival. UAA, *Tory Papers*, Box 23, 904-1(A), Letter, James A. Denny to Ney, February 21, 1923. See also the description of Paton's visit to British Columbia in "Distinguished Visitor Visits B.C." *op. cit.*

[109] McGUA, *op. cit.*, Letter, Ney to Currie, December 7, 1922.

By the end of 1925, as a result of the work done by Ney and Massey, and as a result of the steady flow of lecturers, thirty-one centres across the country had local NCE committees in operation.

Text Books

One of the concerns expressed by Bulman's group, the delegates to the Winnipeg Conference and the members attending the 1920 Ottawa Council meeting was that of school texts. The feeling was widely held that the books in use in Canadian schools had too little Canadian content, were not designed to develop better citizens and did not lend themselves to the required type of moral education. It was also the feeling of these individuals (many of whom were non-educators) that a series of school texts could be created which could be used either as authorized texts or to supplement authorized texts across the country.

As a result, the 1920 Ottawa Council meeting commissioned studies of history, geography and literature texts in use in Canadian schools. Due to a number of personnel changes at Queen's University the study on literature was never completed. The other two were published by the National Council in 1922.[111] It was originally hoped that these surveys could be used by provincial departments of education in selecting textbooks and by prospective writers of texts to improve the quality of the books they wrote.

The Council had intended to use these surveys as points of

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[110] UAA, Tory Papers, Box 23, 904-1(A), Letter, Ney to Tory, February 27, 1923.

[111] NCE, Observations on the Teaching of History and Civics in Primary and Secondary Schools of Canada (Winnipeg: NCE, 1922); NCE, Report on a Survey of Textbooks of Geography Used in Canadian Schools (Winnipeg: NCE, 1922).

discussion at the 1923 Toronto Conference, but only one of them was even mentioned. Dean Herbert T. J. Coleman selected certain parts of the report on geography texts as the focus of his address.[112] In dealing with some of the positive advantages of teaching geography he overlooked many of the negative comments that the report had about the state of that discipline in Canadian education.

Coleman and the authors of the report were in agreement that before leaving school Canadian children should acquire a sound knowledge of Canadian geography and that of the more important countries with which Canada had dealings.[113] The report went on to stress that geography is a science and that countries should not be dealt with in a solely political manner but natural regions should be studied as a whole.[114] Political consideration, though important, would be secondary to the cultivation of understanding of the relationship between man and environment and other major principles derived from geography.

Such a recommendation had serious implications for the study of geography in Canada. Geography, (when taught at all in Canadian schools) had tended to focus on Canada, the United Kingdom, the Empire, Europe and then the United States in that order of priority. If this recommendation were implemented it would have meant a major shift in priorities:

> . . . the whole continent of North America, should be dealt with in some detail, and there should be a fairly general,

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[112] H. T. J. Coleman, "Geography and Humanity", in Dale, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-59. There was a measure of irony in this inasmuch as Coleman had been in charge of the survey of literature texts which had never been completed.

[113] NCE, *Report on a Survey of Textbooks of Geography*, p. 4.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 4, 6.

> though less detailed, descriptive account of each of the other continents . . .[115]

Such a shift of focus if used in all Canadian schools, would have the effect of moving Canadians intellectually and psychologically out of the British orbit into the American one. While such a shift may have been acceptable to some of the continentalist-minded advocates of civic education, it was clearly not acceptable to Ney.

This was not the intent of the authors of the report nor the majority of Canadian educators. The authors surveyed all departments of education and nearly two hundred school principals from across Canada and ". . .the replies received were practically unanimous in stating that the books authorized for use in the provinces concerned are either entirely unsatisfactory, or that they fall far short of meeting the needs of modern geography teaching in our schools."[116] There was wide agreement that these books had two major failings: antiquated methods, stressing memorization of detailed facts, and a tendency to illustrate general principles by foreign examples.[117] The authors called for both a modern approach to geography and for books aimed at Canadian students. They agreed that while there was

> . . . no lack of excellent, well written modern texts, none of them are really suitable for general use in Canadian schools. They are written primarily for pupils in other countries, where conditions of school life, as well as national characterisitcs, are essentially different from those in Canada.[118]

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[115] Ibid., p. 4.

[116] Ibid., p. 5.

[117] Ibid., p. 7.

[118] Ibid., p. 8.

The report was a clear call for modern, Canadian geography texts.[119] The authors called for a series of graded textbooks[120] and went on to state:

> . . . we see no reason why the same text books should not be used, in their proper grades, in every school in the country. On the contrary, given the right kind of textbooks, we believe that their general adoption in the several provinces would come about automatically. It is hardly too much to predict that, if we had books doing for Canada what "Fry and Atwood" and the revised "Tarr" do for the United States, their general adoption would be assured.[121]

In calling for such books, the authors were, undoubtedly, in tune with the aims of many Council members although they recognized that they ". . . were treading on delicate ground."[122] They further noted that such standardized texts could be produced much more cheaply because of the size of the market.[123] Such recommendations, however, could do nothing but increase the fears that many guardians of provincial rights had that the NCE was planning interference in provincial educational matters.

There was one other area about which the report firmly supported the position taken by the Council - that of teacher preparation.

> The provision of suitable text-books will not in itself solve the problem we were required to investigate. We need also, and perhaps even more imperatively, properly qualified teachers who can interpret the books to the children, and who are competent, when necessity arises as it often must, to amplify the information contained in the texts.[124]

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[119] _Ibid_., p. 11 ". . . what we need is a Canadian book. . .."

[120] _Ibid_., p. 10.

[121] _Ibid_., p. 12.

[122] _Ibid_., p. 11.

[123] _Ibid_., p. 12.

[124] _Ibid_.

In this they were critical not only of the normal schools but also of Canadian universities none of which, in contrast to their British and American counterparts, even offered undergraduate courses in geography.[125]

The brief report was a clear indictment of the content, methods and books used in teaching geography in Canada. It reviewed the texts in use, rejected them and called for a fresh approach to the discipline, one in tune with recent pedagogical approaches and academic standards. While the first had been expected, the implications of the second had not, making the report somewhat unpalatable for all but the most ardent nationalists.

In that light it is small wonder that the other report was not even mentioned at the Toronto Conference. While an actual survey of history and civics texts was undertaken, the results of which covered eleven pages of the report, the two essays which accompanied the survey largely invalidated its purpose.

In the accompanying chapter on the teaching of history. Charles N. Cochrane, of the University of Toronto, first dealt with the existing history curricula. He observed that in most provinces much the same ground was covered, British and Canadian history with an attempt to introduce students to aspects of European history. He then went on to maintain that the right of provinces to vary their own curriculum was well founded because curriculum should meet local needs.[126] Such a stand would not meet with much support from many NCE supporters who favored educational standardization.

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[125] Ibid. They do mention that the Université de Montréal had just appointed a geography professor. Coleman (op. cit., p. 56), the Dean of Arts at the University of British Columbia, also noted that his institution had begun to offer courses in geography that year as well.

[126] C. N. Cochrane, "History," in NCE, Observations on the Teaching of History, p. 9.

Cochrane then went on to discuss what history is and is not. It is, he said, ". . . the Memory of Humanity" - a reconstruction of the past with a view to understanding the present."[127] It should not, he continued, be taught for any other purpose such as inculcating morals or instruction in patriotism.[128] Such attempts, he claimed, are not history but ". . . the prostitution of history in the cause of propaganda, the interests of which it is sometimes viciously made to serve."[129] Whiggism that tended to see ". . . the hand of God in the triumphs of Democracy or of Industrialism" was also condemned.[130]

History, Cochrane maintained, is a humanistic study and should be taught in conjunction with the other humanities " . . . to develop the intelligence and inspire the sympathetic imagination which make good men and good citizens." Although it would include the history of all humanity, this is impossible and since selection is required, some special knowledge of British and Canadian history is necessary. The main problem in teaching is that "humanity" means little to children until they have begun to understand men.[131]

Such an approach, claimed Cochrane, requires diversity. No attempt should be made to standardize requirements, students should come in contact with books and be inspired to read widely. The dependence on, or even use of, a text book is by its very nature limiting as is the use of examinations which do not require thinking but only recall.[132]

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[127] Ibid., p. 10.

[128] Ibid., p. 12.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

These problems, according to Cochrane, stem from the impossible task that the teacher faces. Teachers are often immature, poorly qualified, poorly paid, and lacking in social status. Although he felt that some improvements could be made in textbooks, this was not the answer. Attempts should be made, he said, to correct some of these problems by consolidating schools so that more specialist teachers could be employed, by designing history courses to teach the abstract aspects of history rather than just facts, by teachers guiding students in the pursuit of knowledge in books, and by universities providing extension courses and short courses to enable teachers to increase their knowledge. The key to improving teaching, he claimed, lay not with improving textbooks but with improving teachers.[133] Until this is accomplished, he said, teachers are going to have to depend on textbooks to ". . . compensate for inferior teaching quality."[134]

This essay not only attacked the poor quality of history teaching, it brought into question the whole concept of textbooks - one of the agencies which the NCE had stressed as a means of improving Canadian education. As well, focussing the attention of history on humanity as a whole would reduce its value as a vehicle for propaganda, something to which Ney was committed. By denouncing the use of history for purposes of moral education, the essay brought into question the very basis on which the National Council was founded. Although Cochrane shared many of the concerns of the NCE, his essay was unlikely to have won many friends in that body.

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[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid., p. 15-17.

[134] Ibid., p. 15.

The essay on Civics by W. S. Milner, also of the University of Toronto, was even more disturbing to the Council. He opened his remarks with the comment that: "There is something particularly repugnant to British instinct in the conception of teaching citizenship as a subject."[135] The British, he claimed, have always felt that British tradition alone was enough to create good citizens, while Canadians shared with the Americans a tendency to trust in a measure of social experience to aid in this process. He called the whole idea of civic education into question.

> 'The vilest abortionist,' says Mr. Bernard Shaw, 'is he who would attempt to mould a child's character.' And yet the aspirations of that group of Canadians whose initiative some years back led to the formation of this 'National Council of Education' was nothing less than the moulding of the soul of a people.[136]

He cited the examples of Germany and France whose educational systems had stressed civic education prior to World War I, a system, he stated prophetically, ". . . which may go on to create a second hell in Europe."[137] He went on to criticize the development of symbolism and liturgy as a means of inspiring civic pride.[138]

Civic education, Milner claimed, was an attempt to find a shortcut to good citizenship. In his opinion this was an impossibility because teachers ". . . cannot put wise heads on young shoulders . . . ,"[139] Teachers, he said, should not try to make citizens but rather to imitate nature, best done through ". . . a collection of the noblest thought and aspiration of our people."[140] This should be carried out not through teaching as much as through arranging experiences in such things as art, music and literature. He held up service along the lines of Boy Scouts or Rotary Clubs as an ideal means of learning "civics" and proposed a type of conscription into an organization based on these lines as a means of providing such experience.[141]

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[135] W. S. Milner, "Civics" in Ibid., p. 17.

[136] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[137] Ibid., p. 28.

[138] Ibid., p. 31. This criticism was directed specifically at F. M. Hayward and Arnold Freeman, authors of The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction, a work greatly admired by Ney.

Milner's position was unacceptable to many NCE supporters. His rejection of civics as a course of instruction struck at the foundations of the Council, and his attack on nationalism and national symbols offended both the nationalists and the imperialists. The suggestion of any kind of conscription in a country which had been divided only five years earlier by a conscription crisis was unacceptable to most Canadians.

The ideas which Milner and Cochrane put forward were not much different from those expressed by many of the speakers at the 1923 Toronto conference. They came down strongly in favour of a liberal education stressing a broad understanding of humanity. Their thrust, however, was distinctly opposed to the use of the schools as a means of providing indoctrination in morals and citizenship. Taken together, the two essays on history and civics brought into question much of the raison d'être of the NCE.

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[139] Milner, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[140] *Ibid.*

[141] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The survey of geography texts could be viewed in much the same light. Its stress on geography as a science would have, if adopted, reduced the value of geography as a means of inculcating loyalty. The report's insistence on physical as opposed to political geography posed the threat of the Americanization of Canada. As a result both reports were ignored by the NCE and by Canadian schools.

Despite the setbacks of these critical surveys and the failure to have the crucial survey of literature texts completed, the Council decided to press on with its quest for more suitable books. The textbook surveys had been critical of many of the texts in use, so there was clearly a need for action. Curriculum and textbook changes were taking place in a number of provinces, and in Western Canada interprovincial attempts at authorizing standardized books were underway.[142] The National Council decided that one of the ways that textbook reform could be done was to embark upon the task of publishing.

Many university professors and administrators were supporters of the National Council, and the textbook surveys had involved a number of faculty members from five different institutions. At the 1922 National Conference of Canadian Universities, President James MacLean of the University of Manitoba called on faculty members from across Canada to address the weaknesses in Canadian school texts revealed by these reports.[143] The NCE hoped to encourage many of these individuals to prepare books which could be used as text books, school library books and teacher references.

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[142] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921, p. 29.

[143] NCCU, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

To undertake this work the University of Toronto released James Dale from some of his university responsibilities so that he could take the position of educational secretary of the NCE on a part time basis. Dale hoped to act as the general editor for the preparation of a series of books on problems in Canadian education. The intent was to approach the problems from a Canadian vantage point and to provide challenging and controversial opinions on the issues.[144]

Dr. George H. Locke, Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library, was appointed chairman of a committee of Toronto publishers to publish the books commissioned by the Council. The committee planned to commence publication prior to the next planned triennial conference in Montreal in 1926.[145] The stress on publications, however, led to neglect of another aspect of the NCE's work.

The National Bureau

One of the main resolutions of the 1919 Winnipeg Conference concerned the establishment of a national bureau of education. It had been hoped that such a body would undertake research, collect statistics and information and act as an educational clearinghouse for Canada. As an interim measure, the Ottawa Council meeting had delegated many of the tasks of the proposed bureau to the executive secretary until the bureau could be established.[146]

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[144] UAA, *Tory Papers*, Box 23, 104-1(A) Circular letter, Massey to all Council Members, March 26, 1924. The scope of the proposed undertaking can be seen from the list of proposed books. They covered twenty topics:

Health in Schools
Adolescent and Adult Education
Defectives, Dependents and
    Delinquents
Education for Leisure
Teaching as a profession
Character Building in the Schools
Training for citizenship
Sex Education and Social Hygiene
Libraries, Museums and Art Galleries
    in Relation to the School
Races and the Schools
Home, School and Church
The Liberal Side of a Technical
    Education
The Crowded Curriculum
Drama in the Schools
Education and the Moving Pictures
Co-education
The Costs of Education
Schools in Town and Country
Home Economics
Education for the Civil Service

[145] *Ibid*.

The possibility of establishing this bureau was pursued at the meeting of deputy ministers of education in Quebec in 1920 and at the meeting of ministers of education in Toronto in 1922. This latter meeting passed a motion permitting the NCE to approach the provincial governments with a detailed plan for the establishment of a bureau. It was evident at that time that Quebec's fear of such a body had not abated since the 1919 meeting.[147]

At the 1923 Toronto Conference, W. J. Bulman, the retiring NCE president, reiterated the call for a national bureau to provide national direction to the various educational bodies in existence at that time. There was obvious support for such a body from many parts of the dominion. The _Ottawa Journal_ declared:

> The proposed Bureau of Education is viewed with some suspicion by educational officials in some provinces and the Minister of Education in Quebec is decidedly lukewarm about it but there is no reason why it should not perform exceedingly useful work.[148]

Two years later similar support came from the Putman-Weir Report. This report on The British Columbia school system called for the creation of a Canadian educational bureau to undertake such things as the collection, evaluation and organization of results of educational research, the creation of a national educational repository and the standardization of educational information to facilitate interprovincial comparisons through the use of meaningful statistics.[149]

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[146] Vincent Massey, "Plans of the National Council of Education", _B.C. Teacher_, April, 1924, p. 174.

[147] _The Times_, November 4, 1922, p. 9.

[148] _Ottawa Journal_, editorial, April 7, 1923. Page

During the period from 1923 to 1926, Ney continued to pursue the possibility of establishing the bureau. He encountered two main obstacles in his attempts to convince the provincial departments of education of the value of such an undertaking. Firstly, the country had suffered a post-war recession which made financing of any new schemes difficult. This was especially true of things such as the creation of an independent national agency on an experimental basis. The second difficulty was the natural provincial suspicions that an interprovincial body would attempt to usurp provincial rights.

As a result, Canada in 1926 was no closer to having a National Bureau of Education that it had been in 1919.

Despite the disappointment of NCE supporters, this was not as serious as it once had been. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics was now collecting and distributing educational statistics and the NCE office in Winnipeg was acting as an educational clearinghouse, albeit on a voluntary basis. The creation of the post of Director of Technical Education for Canada provided provinces an opportunity to share concerns in this field. A further interchange of educational information was provided by the organization of the Canadian Teachers' Federation in 1920 and by a similar body representing school trustees in 1924.

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[149] J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir, Province of British Columbia: Survey of the School System (Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer, 1925), pp. 7-9.

The failure of the NCE to establish the bureau did, however, have a serious impact on that body. The NCE central office attempted to carry out too many tasks. It continued to act as the sole clearinghouse for Canadian educational information. Ney had made contact with departments of education throughout the world, and the Winnipeg offices of the NCE acted as a repository for reports from these sources. The Council also became the agency best able to provide information on Canadian education to foreign countries. The NCE educational reference library in Winnipeg continued to grow and was being used to some extent to provide information for educational studies.[150] A music department of this library was established in 1924 with a wide range of materials to meet the needs of Canadian classroom teachers.[151] Canadian and British publishers were able to use NCE facilities as a means of keeping educators across Canada in touch with new and relevant publications at minimum cost. The Council could not continue to carry out all of these activities without stabilizing its position by receiving support from either public or private sources. It was fortunate in having Massey as president at this time.

Massey's Presidency

In 1926, in his report as retiring president of the NCE, Vincent Massey labelled the Council as an experimental movement.[152] The history of the body in the 1923 - 1926 period must be viewed in this light. Until 1923 it was unclear what directions the organization would take. The 1923

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[150] NCE, Report of the Executive Secretary, 1926, p. 4.

[151] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, pp. 2, 9.

[152] Ibid., p. 3.

Conference clearly established the aims and goals of the Council and the ensuing three years laid the groundwork for the success or failure of the experiment.

How successful was the Council in achieving its goals under Massey's presidency? In 1922, The Canadian Forum editorialized:

> Canada needs, and needs badly, an association that will unite all elements of educational life - parents, trustees, teachers, and administrators - and especially the teachers.[153]

This was the goal which the NCE had set for itself in 1920, a goal which was reiterated at the NCE's second triennial conference.

Despite the waning interest of the first NCE executive, Ney and an active Toronto committee under Vincent Massey organized the successful conference on "Education and Life." Not only did this conference feature prominent speakers from England, France and Canada, it broke new ground by having speeches in both English and French. The Council, by this move, recognized and proclaimed the acceptance of the bilingual nature of the country.[154] The conference's focus on liberal and civic education, as opposed to the religious and moral aspects of civic education which the 1919 conference had featured, led to an acceptance of the Council by the hitherto aloof Catholic church.

Despite these successes, the Toronto conference did have some shortcomings. The addresses in praise of a liberal education which were applauded by the 1400 delegates were somewhat obsolete. These speeches reflected pre-war educational thinking rather than that of the post-war period. The lack of an advance agenda for the meeting, the lack of time for discussion after each speaker, and the restricted voting prevented any real interchange of ideas. Such an arrangement had the effect of removing from the delegates any sense of importance. As a result, few motions of substance arose from the conference and the direction of the NCE over the next triennial period was left largely in the hands of the president and the executive secretary.

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[153] The Canadian Forum, III (November, 1922), p. 37. The editorial also makes it clear that the editor did not know the difference between the CEA and the NCE. He assumed that the 1922 meeting of ministers and deputy ministers in Toronto, and the CEA meeting which followed in Ottawa, were meetings of the same organization. He discussed the NCE thrust to create a National Bureau yet critized the organization's membership for being limited to department of education officials.

[154] NCE, Report of the Executive Secretary, 1926, p. 5.

Out of the business meetings at the Toronto conference came a new structure for the National Council. The former organization, which had representatives from various occupations in every province, was replaced by a smaller organization with only one representative from each province. The executive, formerly a small group centred in one city, was enlarged and dispersed across Canada. These changes reduced the input from across the country and centralized the NCE's power by placing effective control in the hands of the president and the executive secretary.

The 1923 constitutional rearrangement and the pressure of preparing for the touring lecturers led to the establishment of NCE local committees in most major centres in Canada. Some of these local committees, particularly those organized and operated by professional educators, were quite successful in laying a groundwork for future NCE activities.[155] In areas where the local committee structure did not work well this was largely due to poor organization which, in turn, was often due to the centralized structure that the Council had assumed. Ney, who was largely in charge of the NCE, was not able to ensure the proper establishment of these committees at the local level due to the myriad of tasks he was expected to perform.[156]

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[155] Two examples are the committees in Calgary under George W. Kerby of Mount Royal College and in Halifax under Henry Munroe of Dalhousie University.

Clearly the most impressive achievement of the NCE during this period was the inauguration of the National University or lectureship. Between 1923 and 1926 twenty distinguished English speakers addressed over four hundred audiences across Canada. The addresses covered a wide range of topics, all designed to broaden the cultural awareness of Canadians. In addition, Ney arranged for speakers specifically interested in education and assisted Canadian Clubs in obtaining guest lecturers from Britain.

Even this aspect of the Council's work, however, encountered some difficulties. Because all of the speakers were volunteers freely giving their time, Ney was not able to ensure that they would arrive in each centre at a convenient time or would stay in one area for more than a few days. Local committees often found themselves by-passed in making arrangements, only having the responsibility of hosting and paying for speakers whom they often did not particularly want or who arrived at an inopportune time.

An additional problem involved the selection of speakers. Despite the original desire of the organizers of the Council to involve all of Canadian society, not one speaker during this period was selected to appeal to groups such as farmers or workers. In spite of the policy of bilingualism which the 1923 conference had emphasised, there was only one Francophone speaker during this period.[157] Ney selected all of the lecturers and, as a result, he chose them to enhance the imperialist ideas he had for Canadian development. During the first three years of the scheme's operation this imbalance did not seem to cause much concern, but it did create difficulties later.

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[156] While it would be unfair to claim that Ney had no interest in the functioning of these local committees, two things are clear: first, he was interested primarily in the larger scope of the Council's undertakings and, secondly, he fully expected that all thinking people in Canada would share his dream and be willing to work as hard on the local level to make the Council work as he did nationally.

One of the most serious problems which the Council faced during this period was that of financing. Because of the sluggish economy and the waning of interest in patriotic organizations, the proposed trust fund was never established. Canadian Rotary Clubs, which had done so much to finance the Winnipeg Conference, continued their support and provided most of the funding for the Toronto conference as well. The lectureship scheme was funded jointly by local committees, universities, Canadian Clubs and The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire.[158] Such ad hoc support, however, hampered any long-range planning, and a more stable financial base had to be established if the Council was going to succeed.[159]

An area in which the NCE showed a measure of progress during this period concerned attempts to improve the quality of Canadian school textbooks. J. A. Dale, the Council's educational secretary, and George Locke of the publication committee by early 1926 had three books completed, two more in preparation and plans for a number of others.[160] Even this undertaking was not completely successful. Of the three preliminary studies of school texts which the Council had commissioned, one was never completed, and the other two were, apparently, ignored in the preparation of the Council's own texts.

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[157] Charles Marchand was the only Canadian as well. Massey was concerned about this dearth of French lecturers but maintained that this was because of the ". . . difficulty of securing French speakers who can address English-speaking audiences." NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, p. 6. There is no indication any attempt was made to obtain British speakers who could address French-speaking audiences.

[158] NCE, Report of the Executive Secretary, 1926, p. 8.

[159] Financial records are not available from this period. Later sources reveal that the Massey Foundation provided substantial funding for the Council. It is likely that such funding began during the period of Massey's presidency.

A number of the problems which the Council encountered during this period were not of its making. One of these was Major Ney's health. Ney had been severely wounded during the war and he was continually bothered by his injuries. During most of 1925 he had been hospitalized, leaving the responsibility for running the Council to the office staff.

Events in Canada and abroad also had the effect of depriving the NCE of some of the support which it had previously enjoyed. Many prominent Protestant clergymen had been actively involved in the formation of the National Council between 1917 and 1919. By 1920 the attention of many of these men was being taken up by the church union movement. After this union was achieved in 1925 many of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregationalist clergy now focussed their attention on making the United Church of Canada a success. Their interest in the National Council declined.

A number of important changes in diplomatic and political arenas also worked to the NCE's disadvantage. Following the war Canada moved rapidly towards independence. The signing of the peace treaty, a Canadian seat in the League of Nations, the signing of the Pacific Halibut

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[160] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, p. 7.

Treaty and the British recognition of the right of the Dominions to negotiate their own international treaties resulted in a renewed interest in politics among many leading Canadians. A large number of the founders and supporters of the NCE were actively involved in politics and this was one of the most exciting periods in Canada's political history. The Progressive party, which had captured the second largest number of federal seats in 1921, was in the process of disintegration, a revived Conservative Party came to power in all three Maritime provinces, the Ontario Farmers' government was defeated by the Conservatives and, after the 1925 election, Mackenzie King's Liberal government was clinging to power despite being the second largest party in Parliament. These political developments seemed far more pressing and practical than many of the dreams put forward by the National Council.

By the end of 1925 the council had established itself quite firmly in the educational life of Canada. It was fulfilling a number of important roles which otherwise would not have been undertaken. It had embarked on practical educational activities such as a national school music library and a national textbook publishing scheme, but, more importantly, it stood for an ideal. It provided Canadians with the potentiality for national cooperation and provided a possible framework for national enlightenment. Whether one accepted or rejected this ideal or this concept of enlightenment, its existence was important. By the end of 1925 the Council was a well-established structure in Canada's cultural and educational life. Canadians were awaiting the 1926 NCE Montreal Conference.

Chapter 6

THE BEST LAID PLANS

By the closing years of the 1920's Canada's future directions on the international front looked clear. Mackenzie King's policies of asserting Canadian autonomy were beginning to pay off with international recognition of the independent status of the dominions. On the political level, King was even able to use the question of Canadian sovereignty and to draw on the latent sense of Canadian nationalism to secure his re-election in 1926.

The increase in Canada's status on the international level did not strengthen the federal government's role inside the country. As mining and forestry prospered so did some of the more fortunate provinces, and as they grew richer they were able once again to tip the federal-provincial power struggle in their favour.

The industrial growth and the wealth that accompanied it were not an unmixed blessing. The impact of the war and improved transportation changed Canada's trade patterns and most of these resource products were now marketed in the United States. Expanding Canadian industries began attracting more American capital and American companies began to establish branch plants in Canada. Canadian industrialists, who had for the half century following John A. Macdonald's National Policy benefited from Canada's system of protective tariffs, began to fear for their continued existence.

Improvements in methods of transportation and communication were also beginning to pose a threat to Canada. By the end of the 1920's the automobile had replaced the horse in transportation, enabling people to cross the Canadian-American border both easily and rapidly. Motion pictures and radio broadcasts made the flow of ideas easier still. Because of the differences in the size of the populations of the two countries, Canadians were more affected by this interchange than were Americans.

This growing Americanization was particularly evident amongst the working people of Canada. The material aspects of American culture were relatively inexpensive, and automobiles, radio receivers and moving pictures were within the reach of all. They soon became the common coin of the working man in English-speaking Canada as well as his counter-part in the United States. The popular culture of the United States was becoming the culture of North America.

These developments posed a threat to Canada's newly achieved autonomy. Those favouring Canadian nationalism began to realize that maintenance of Canadian independence could not be passive. The problems involved in taking active steps, however, were tremendous. The Nationalists were a relatively small group centred mainly in university and artistic circles. If they were to succeed they needed to gain the support of both government and the business community and to use this support to alter the pro -American cultural drift of the mass of the population.

Such an undertaking would have been difficult at the best of times; divided as this group was it was virtually impossible. The group included pro-socialist elements which favoured strong government involvement and pro-capitalists who opposed expanding the role of government. It was not a united group and, other than involvement in service clubs and bodies such as the Canadian Club, it lacked organization.

The National Council of Education was ideally suited to play this role but it had other plans. Between 1926 and 1929, the NCE turned its attention away from the nation-building goals approved at the Winnipeg conference and set out to revive the flagging fortunes of the imperialists. This change in emphasis began at the third triennial conference.

The Montreal Conference

The organization and planning of The National Council of Education's third Triennial Conference got off to a bad start. In planning the 1923 Toronto meeting, Vincent Massey had involved a number of prominent Torontonians in the process. In Montreal, the task was made more difficult by the state of organization of the Montreal local committee and was further complicated by the bilingual, bicultural nature of the city.

Montreal was one of the centres where there had been difficulties over the membership of the local committee. The main NCE supporters in the city were drawn from the Anglo-Protestant establishment, whereas Ney was anxious to have the committee represent both languages and cultures.[1] In addition, although Major Ney, the executive secretary, wished the Council to remain a predominantly lay movement, the Montreal supporters tended to see it as a body of primary interest to educators.[2] When Edward W. Beatty, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and president of the NCE local committee, was approached in early 1925 regarding arrangements for the 1926 conference he wrote:

> I must confess that I had forgotten, if I ever knew, that I was Chairman of the Local Committee of the National Council of Education. I imagine that in my case the appointment was

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[1] McGill University Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated McGUA), National Council of Education (Hereinafter abbreviated NCE), 4th Triennial Conference 1923-26, 272, Letter, Frederick Ney to Arthur Currie, December 7, 1922.

[2] *Ibid.*

> intended to be more nominal than real because the amount of time I am at liberty to give to these things is very limited. By virtue of his position, Sir Arthur Currie should, of course, head the Montreal activities of the Council.[3]

Despite this stand, Ney continued to consider Beatty as chairman of the Montreal local and consulted him on conference arrangements.[4]

In addition to the difficulties in forming the committee there was the problem of Ney's health. By 1925 he had become so involved with his dreams of imperial unity that he had taken on too many activities. He was attempting to make the NCE Winnipeg office function as a Canadian educational clearinghouse, he had the responsibility of engaging speakers for the lectureships and of arranging their visits, he had expanded the Overseas Education League activities to take Canadian university undergraduates as well as Canadian teachers on tours of Great Britain and Europe, he arranged a Canadian tour for British teachers[5] and another for members of the British Parliament[6] in the summer of 1925, he was selecting British speakers of Canadian Club speaking tours and on top of this was attempting to prepare for the 1926 conference. All of this proved too much for a man already in frail health. As a result Ney was hospitalized in England for much of 1925.

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[3] Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated CPCA), E. W. Beatty Letter Book, 120, Letter, Edward W. Beatty to James M. Macdonnell, January 15, 1925, p. 355. There is no indication of how Beatty was selected as chairman of the Montreal local. It appears from records in other centres that local chairmen were often selected by Ney. He chose the most prominent individual in each centre who had shown any interest in the Council's activities. See University of Alberta Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UAA), Tory Papers, NCE, passim.

[4] CPCA, op. cit., 121, Letter, Beatty to Ney, April 22, 1925, p. 97.

[5] Teachers' Trails in Canada, 1925 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1926).

[6] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926. N.p.: n.pub., n.d., p. 7.

Despite these problems, plans for the 1926 triennial conference proceeded. Colonel Wilfred Bovey of McGill University took over as acting secretary of the National Council while Ney was recuperating.[7] A conference committee, chaired by E. W. Beatty, was finally established in Montreal.[8] The committee consisted of two parallel sub-committees, an English one headed by Sir Arthur Currie, the Principal of McGill University, and a French one under Monseigneur Joseph Vincent Piette, the Rector of the University of Montreal.[9]

The theme chosen for the conference was "Education and Co-operation".[10] In planning the programme the committee had two objectives:

> . . . the first, to place renewed emphasis upon the value of education as a unifying influence in the national life of Canada . . . the second, to bring about renewed appreciation of the importance of cultural training as an asset for the individual.[11]

In recognition of the "French fact", the conference was the first fully bilingual national conference. Some sessions were held jointly, others split into English and French sections. Following the wishes of the 1923 conference, the programme was arranged to allow at least one hour discussion following each address. To meet another complaint made after the Toronto meeting, the committee devoted the last two days of the conference to a practical topic, the teaching of music. Demonstrations were arranged using students from Montreal schools, followed by discussions of methods in music education and speeches on the role of music in education.

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[7] McGUA, op. cit., NCE circular letter, January 11, 1926.

[8] It is evident, however, that Beatty had little to do with establishing the programme. CPCA, op. cit., 122, Letter, Beatty to W. Bovey, February 2, 1926, p. 128.

[9] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(13), NCE circular letter, December 5, 1925. The Anglophone committee also included of Sir Arthur Currie, Major James M. Macdonnell, Sir Vincent Meredith, and Charles W. Colby. The Francophone committee included A. L. Caron, Raoul Dandurand and Edouard Monpetit.

[10] British Columbia Provincial Library, NCE, The Foundation and Achievements of the National Council of Education of Canada (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.), p. 20.

[11] McGUA, op. cit., Third Triennial National Conference on Education and Citizenship [Conference Programme] (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.), p. 8.

In order to create interest in the upcoming conference, the publicity chairman, John Murray Gibbon, had press releases prepared for publication in Canadian educational journals outlining the programme.[12] In addition, a representative of the NCE office was to tour the country speaking to NCE local committees. Henry Button, the Canadian director of J. M. Dent and Sons publishing house, was the man named to promote the conference.

The selection of Button to represent the Council created objections from some quarters. In the minds of many Canadians, particularly those in western Canada, the role of the NCE was the promotion of moral and civic education in the schools. These individuals expected the National Council to employ outstanding educators to undertake this task. They were concerned about the directions in which Ney seemed to be taking the Council and were critical of the appointment of an individual who was not, in their minds, even an educator.[13]

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[12] E.g., "National Council of Education, "The Western School Journal, XXI (February, 1926), pp. 646-48; "National Council of Education," B.C. Teacher, February, 1926, pp. 138-39.

[13] UAA, Tory Papers, 9041(B), Letters, Tory to Bovey, June 30, 1926; Bovey to Tory, February 5, 1926; Tory to Bovey, March 18, 1926.

Despite all of the difficulties, on April 5, 1926, the six-day conference opened with a reception in Montreal's Mount Royal Hotel. Although one delegate declared that this third triennial conference was ". . . by far the largest and most successful . . .",[14] it was neither! The five hundred registered delegates were only about one third of the number who had registered at the Winnipeg or Toronto meetings. While the Governor General's reception on the opening night was successful, congeniality ceased shortly thereafter.

The first conference speaker was Sir John Adams, a professor in Education from the University of London. His address, to a joint French-English session, was entitled "The Importance of Language in Education." In it he had praise for the French language but went on to say:

> But the French of Quebec must rank with the French of the church women in Chaucer . . . .
> In Quebec, we have French, but not the kind of French which can compete with classical English. No doubt the French of the habitant trips more lightly than that of the lady.

Despite his comment that: ". . . I realize on what delicate ground I am treading," he went on to suggest that it would be, ". . . a graceful gesture if English were adopted as a second language in all French-Canadian schools."[15]

Adam's speech confirmed to many French-Canadians what they had always suspected, the National Council of Education was an agency working toward the abolition of their language and their assimilation by the English. Senator Napoleon Antoine Belcourt took advantage of the discussion period after the speech to attack this position. He called the notion, that the French spoken in Quebec was not pure French, a stupid legend.[16] He claimed: ". . . as language it is as good, and I will go further, it is better than the French spoken in France in general."[17] He went on to say that this legend ". . . is the one great obstruction to bilingualism in this country."[18] Belcourt reflected the bitterness felt by many French Canadians:

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[14] Raymond Walters, "The Canadian National Conference on Education and Citizenship," School and Society XXIII (April 24, 1926), p. 528.

[15] Ottawa Journal, April 6, 1926, p. 14.

> We have been fighting this for a good many years. Then we have English speakers like Sir John coming and repeating this. For me, truly, it is the fly in the ointment of Sir John's speech.[19]

Belcourt was supported by a number of English-speaking Canadians. Henry Marshall Tory claimed: "We of English-speaking Canada look upon French Canada and what it has accomplished as something to be proud of."[20] William Frederick Osborne went even further. He warned the delegates of the slow drift toward Americanism which was taking place in all provinces except Quebec. The lack of standards and objectives in all other provinces was leading, he claimed, to mediocrity in education.[21] Osborne pleaded with the Council delegates to ". . . resist the tide of American influence that threatens to reduce to absolute banality and conventionality the mental processes of this continent."[22]

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[16] Montreal La Presse, avril 7, 1926, p. 9.

[17] Walters, op. cit., p. 531.

[18] Ottawa Journal, loc. cit.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Walters, op. cit., p. 530.

[21] Montreal La Presse, avril 7, 1926, p. 1.

[22] Walters, op. cit., p. 530.

Osborne was pleading for a return to original purposes of the NCE's Winnipeg organizers and in this to recognize the contribution that Quebec could make to Canadian education. But the die had been cast. Sir John's gaff had become the focus of attention at the conference, a focus which generated many hard feelings.

Although the conference theme was "Education and Co-operation", little co-operation was evident. Despite the many problems facing Canadian education, only four of the papers presented bore directly on the Canadian educational scene,[23] the other sixteen followed the pattern set in Toronto and addressed questions about liberal education in general.

The problems facing the NCE were clearly outlined, not by one of the speakers but by Rev. Francis Xavier Marcotte, the Rector of the University of Ottawa. Marcotte, chairman of one of the French language sessions of the conference, took advantage of his position to express his concerns about future relationships between the NCE and French Canada. He used as his focus the five propositions which Vincent Massey had outlined at the 1923 Toronto conference as being the basis of the National Council.[24] He took each of these in turn and presented French-Canada's reaction to them.

On the first two principles, "That education should concern itself with the development of character and should provide a full preparation for life" and "That education is a spiritual process", he declared:

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[23] N. A. Belcourt, "La formation d'un esprit Canadien au moyen de l'education."; H. M. Tory, "Education as a factor in Mutual Understanding"; John Clarence Webster, "Ideals in Education"; R. P. Emil Dubois, "L'organisation de l'enseignement de l'histoire du Canada."

[24] Vincent Massey, "Prologue" in J. A. Dale, ed., Education and Life (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1924, pp. 5-6.

"Nous sommes tous ici parfaitement d'accord."[25] The third ideal was, "That education is imparted by personality. Its success or failure rests with the teacher." Here, claimed Marcotte, there was no necessary conflict, depending on how the nature of education was defined.[26] On the fourth point, "That education is everyone's business," real differences arose. Marcotte admitted that everyone may have an interest in education, but insisted that parents have primacy. He warned against the dangers of statism. He maintained that education is an intellectual and spiritual undertaking over which the state had only limited rights. The church, he said, must play a major role in the process.[27] On the fifth point he was even more critical. The idea "That Canadian education must be Canadian in its ideals" he interpreted as a call for national educational uniformity. He denounced this:

> Ce serait un projet chimérique, une atteinte à des droits naturels et consititutionnels, un rêve contraire aux règles les plus élémentaires de la saine pedagogie. Ce serait la destruction d'une des bases de la Confédération.[28]

The triennial conferences were, in his judgement, a means of true Canadianization, which allowed Canadians from various backgrounds the opportunity to come in contact with other educators, to increase knowledge, to improve communications, and to listen to experts on educational issues.[29] No clearer rejection of educational uniformity could have been made.

The rest of Quebec society shared these concerns. On the day the conference opened it was attacked by l'Action Catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-francaise. This group claimed that the NCE had a three-fold aim, the creation of a Federal Bureau of Education, the establishment of a Federal Ministry of Education and the recognition of the National Council of Education as the national educational body. It denounced these claims and the Council itself as unconstitutional, ". . . un organisme étranger . . ." and as ". . . absolutement inutile, sinon nuisible . . . ."[30]

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[25] Montreal La Presse, avril 10, 1926, p. 29.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

Members of the National Council had to work hard to attempt to repair the split which was evidently growing between the French and the English. Vincent Massey praised the diversity which existed in Canada. He claimed that: "The greatest peril in North America today is the menace of deadly uniformity and standardized common-placeness."[31] Henry Marshall Tory claimed that sectionalism was a greater barrier to understanding than "racial" or religious problems.[32] Senator Belcourt called on Canadians to create and maintain a national spirit while at the same time allowing diversity of language, thought, appearance, customs and manners.[33]

Still others attempted to direct the interest and attention away from divisive matters to grounds on which common agreement existed. John Clarence Webster reminded delegates of the defective training and low salaries of teachers - conditions which still remained seven years after the founding of the National Council.[34] William Frederick Osborne agreed:

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[30] Montréal La Presse, avril 5, 1926, p. 3.

[31] "The National Conference on Education and Citizenship," The Western School Journal, XXI (May, 1926), p. 786.

[32] Ibid., p. 787; Walters, op. cit., p. 532.

[33] "The National Conference on Education and Citizenship," op. cit., p. 787..

> Canadian education is in a shabby, sloppy and stodgy condition and, unless we get out of that and conduct our educational experiments with more insight, we can abandon the idea of getting a really high Canadian nationality.[35]

One of the key resolutions at the Winnipeg conference, one reaffirmed by the Toronto gathering in 1923, concerned the establishment of a national bureau of education. It was looked upon by many Anglophone members of the NCE as the Council's major duty. This resolution, more than all of the other aspects of the Council's undertakings, caused concern to the Province of Quebec. In the period between 1923 and 1926 the Council had continued to make some attempts to create such a bureau. In his report to the Montreal conference, Massey stated:

> Due, however, either to a misunderstanding of some of the functions of such a Bureau, or a failure to appreciate the importance of others, the idea has not met with sufficient support to ensure its adoption. For this reason it is recommended . . . that the project of a Canadian Bureau of Education should be abandoned.[36]

One observer attributed this decision to the results of a long study carried out by Ney.[37] Ney denied reponsibility, claiming

> . . . the idea was formally abandoned at Vincent Massey's suggestion at the Montreal Conference in 1926. I raised no objection, because I thought I saw other means by which a greater degree of co-operation could be secured without hurting anyone's feeling.[38]

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[34] Walters, op. cit., p. 535.

[35] Ibid., p. 533.

[36] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, p. 11.

[37] Walters, op. cit., p. 530.

[38] Richardson Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated R.A.), NCE Files, Letter, Ney to Robert Charles Wallace, January 2, 1936.

Why was the idea of the bureau abandoned?

The NCE was born in a spirit of wartime fervour. There was a strong desire on the part of many Canadians at that time to strengthen the power of centralized government. In the post-war period there was a reaction against these ideas, a reaction which tended toward provincialism. The idea of a National Bureau of Education was one casualty of this change in attitude. Vincent Massey was concerned with national unity and was convinced that the NCE could contribute to the unity in ways other than pressing for a national bureau.

Massey felt that the Council would continue to exist only as long as it provided a useful function. He knew that it". . . must either advance or atrophy".[39] He felt that pursuing the attempt to create a national bureau was to invite decline. He preferred instead to have the Council involved in such things as undertaking educational research and surveys, providing service to educational organizations, holding educational conferences and acting as a Canadian educational clearinghouse.[40] He saw the NCE as an experimental enterprise which had reached a time when an assessment of the experiment was necessary in order to focus on future goals.[41]

Ney was not unhappy to see the end of the suggested Bureau. He later claimed:

> . . . I never considered that the Bureau at Ottawa would serve Canada's need in Education to any great extent. It necessarily would have but limited powers, largely in the field of Enquiry, the results of which would be available to the public in printed form, by means of reports and documents which would appeal only to the Educationist, and seldom be read even by him. Its

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[39] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, p. 12.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid., p. 1.

> passing, I felt, would pave the way for the organization and development of 'Adult or Community Education'. . .[42]

This conviction on Ney's part accounts for his lack of concerted attempts to convince provincial governments to contribute to such a body during the 1923-26 period.

In his own report to the conference, Ney provided some additional suggestions for activities that the NCE could engage in instead of attempting to create the bureau. One was the expansion of the music department which had been created two years earlier. A large collection of music material suitable for use in schools had been accumulated but the shortage of funds and personnel had limited its use.[43] He also suggested the possibility of establishing a Canadian Film Bureau to collect, distribute and, eventually, produce films which were both entertaining and educational.[44] He referred to the Parents Advisory Bureau which he had recommended establishing in 1921, which could undertake counselling services for schools. Such a service, he said, had since been established by the Social Hygiene Council in Toronto. He proposed that the NCE should work to have such bureaux set up across the country.[45] He also reiterated the need for a Canadian children's magazine.[46] Although the creation of a national bureau had been a major thrust of the Council, both Massey and Ney felt that the organization could survive and flourish by undertaking other roles.

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[42] RA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to William James Dunlop, February 19, 1936.

[43] NCE, Report of the Executive Secreatary, 1926. (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.), p. 9.

[44] Ibid., p. 10.

[45] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[46] Ibid., p. 11.

Before the conference could consider charting any new courses for the NCE, a new Council had to be elected. The outgoing executive had the responsibility of submitting a slate of nominees to the conference. The difficulty they encountered in this undertaking indicated the problems the Council faced.

Prior to the opening of the conference, Vincent Massey approached E. W. Beatty, asking him to allow his name to be put forward for the presidency of the Council. Beatty politely refused, pleading that he did not have the time to commit to the organization. He added:

> If we admit the real importance and significance of the movement, we must at the same time appreciate that it can only be made effective by the efforts of those who are able to give the affairs of the Council careful and continuous consideration.[47]

No other prospective candidate was approached prior to the conference.

As a result, when the elections took place for membership on the National Council for the next three years, no new president was elected. The new executive[48] was empowered to name someone to the post.[49] Massey

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[47] CPCA, E. W. Beatty Letter Book, 122, Letter, Beatty to Massey, April 8, 1926, p. 425. In discussing his refusal with Currie he sounded much less interested in the organization, claiming:

> "Undoubtedly the council are [sic] suffering from lack of material but the importance of my association with them is like the report of Mark Twain's death - very much exaggerated."

McGUA, op. cit., Letter, Beatty to Currie, April 9, 1926.

[48] Members of the NCE executive for the 1926-29 term were:

Vice-president - Senator Napoleon Antoine Belcourt
Chairman of the executive - Dr. Charles William Colby
Provincial representatives - James Cranswick Tory - Nova Scotia
John Clarence Webster - New Brunswick
Carrie Holman - Prince Edward Island

agreed to continue to act as president until such a time as one could be chosen.[50]

An attempt was made to persuade Charles William Colby, president of the Remington Typewriter Company, to accept the position. Colby refused because he planned to be absent from Canada for much of the 1926-29 period.[51] A further attempt was made to persuade Beatty to accept the task, with the same negative result.[52]

By now the searchers were getting somewhat desperate. Massey had been forced to resign as acting president in order to assume his duties as the head of Canada's new legation in the United States. It was imperative that a new president be found.

The executive decided to approach Ontario's Lieutenant Governor, Hon. Henry Cockshutt, to accept the position. Beatty, who had accepted the position of honorary vice-president of The Council,[53] appealed to

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A. Joseph Vincent Piette - Quebec
Arthur Currie - Quebec
Henry Cockshutt - Ontario
James Aikins - Manitoba
Samuel John Latta - Saskatchewan
A. Melville Scott - Alberta
John Duncan McLean - British Columbia

Members at large:

Tom Moore - Ottawa
Samuel P. Matheson - Winnipeg
Edouard Monpetite - Montreal
Joan Arnold - Toronto
B. Nicholl - Victoria

[49] *Ottawa Citizen*, April 12, 1926, p. 1.

[50] CPCA, *op. cit.*, 123, Letter, Beatty to Cockshutt, December 9, 1926, p. 251.

[51] *Ibid.*, Letter, Beatty to Colby, November 23, 1926.

[52] University of Toronto Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UTA), *Falconer Papers*, Box 99, Beatty, E. W. File, Letters, Falconer to Beatty, Oct. 30, 1926; Beatty to Falconer, Nov. 1, 1926.

Cockshutt to take over the post. Despite his own earlier comment that "It's not the kind of position that can be handled satisfactorily by periodical references to the President by the permanent officers and decisions come to on slight consideration . . .,"[54] he now assured Cockshutt that ". . . the position will not take up a great deal of your time. . . ."[55] Cockshutt finally agreed and, by the end of 1926, had taken over the post.[56]

Only one executive position remained unfilled, that of treasurer. Ney was given the responsibility of convincing James A. Richardson, a Winnipeg financier, to accept this task.[57] This appointment was crucial for the Council because it was in the midst of a campaign to raise funding to support its programmes until the 1929 conference.[58] Richardson's acceptance of the post rounded out the Council's executive.

The difficulty in appointing an executive was an indication of the problems the Council faced. Ney had insisted on holding to the original intention of the Council's founders in keeping it primarily a

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[53] This was changed to Honorary Vice-President when the new Governor General, Viscount Willingdon, was offered the post of Honorary President.

[54] CPCA, op. cit., 122, Letter, Beatty to Massey, April 8, 1926, p. 425.

[55] Ibid., 123, Letter, Beatty to Cockshutt, Dec. 9, 1926, p. 251.

[56] Ibid., Letter, Beatty to Ney, Dec. 15, 1926, p. 269. Cockshutt apparently did not take over as NCE president immediately. When the combined choirs of Westminster Abbey and St. George's Chapel toured Canada between January 21 - March 24, 1927, Beatty was listed as the Acting-President of the NCE. A. V. Baillie, A Joyous Adventure (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1927), Picture facing p. 165.

[57] CPCA, op. cit., 123, Letter, Beatty to Ney, Dec. 13, 1926, p. 269.

[58] Ibid., Beatty to Colby, Nov. 23, 1926, p. 176.

lay body.[59] It was evident, though, despite the rhetorical support that non-educators at conferences gave to educational undertakings, that they had no great interest in questions of national education nor any real intent to attempt to improve the teacher's position in society.

Ney was faced with this lack of commitment shortly after he had accepted the position as NCE secretary. He later wrote:

> . . . it is ironical now to reflect that the principal objection subsequently raised by my future father-in-law [Sir James Aikins] to my projected marriage was that the Council could never succeed and would never give me a decent competence - this, too, in the face of the fact that he had been one of the 5 "promoters" of the Winnipeg Conference![60]

The Council was truly facing a crossroads where it had to advance or atrophy. Ney was convinced that it could be brought to a realization of the Council's importance.

Was the 1926 Montreal Conference a failure? The initial suspicion of Quebec had been confirmed by Adams' speech. Massey attempted to allay Quebec's apprehensions by scuttling the proposed bureau of education. This move cost the Council the support of those English Canadians who saw this as its raison d'être. Ney's insistence on selecting a president with a prominent name not only prevented the completion of the elections at the conference, it also resulted in the appointment of a president who had little interest in or knowledge of the Council's activities. What's more, the organizing committee for this conference was not as well prepared as their Winnipeg and Toronto counterparts. As a result, unlike the other conferences, no proceedings were published.

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[59] "National Council of Education," The Western School Journal XXI (Feb., 1926), p. 648.

[60] RA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Richardson, Dec. 11, 1935.

Despite these problems, the conference had some positive aspects. Massey's renunciation of the plans for a bureau brought mild editorial praise in Montréal La Presse. The editorial gave some support for NCE aims, but insisted that national unity could best be developed through the restoration of educational rights for Francophones in Ontario and Manitoba.[61] Another indication of reduced French-Canadian apprehensions was the acceptance by Senator Belcourt of the Council's vice-presidency.

One of the delegates saw two other positive aspects resulting from the conference. The first was one which Ney could approve of, a distinct shift in the Council's orientation:

> At the conference in Winnipeg, emphasis was placed on moral training as if that were something outside the field of general education. Now it is pretty generally agreed that all human activity has moral quality, that every lesson is a lesson in morals, that teachers often reach their aims most effectually when they use indirect rather than direct methods.[62]

Ney had never supported the Winnipeg conference's "morals in isolation" approach. He had long felt that education was broader than schooling and that teachers and the leaders of society had to be educated before schooling for the young could be improved. This shift away from the classroom tended to support his indirect method of changing the schools.

The second, however, was not one of which Ney was in favour. The delegate claimed that the meeting marked the first time that education had been discussed on a "Canadian" basis: "At Montreal everybody talked Canadian."[63] Despite the fact that there were five speakers from Great Britain, four from the United States and three from France, discussion centred on Canadian education. The remarks of Sir John Adams, Massey's cancellation of the proposed bureau and the four addresses on Canadian educational topics focussed the attention and the discussions of the delegates on questions concerning Canadian education. This was indicative of a change that was taking place in the country.

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[61] Montréal La Presse, avril 6, 1926, p. 6.

[62] "The National Conference on Education and Citizenship, Montreal, April 5-10, 1926," The Western School Journal, XXI (May, 1926) p. 789.

The Canadian Identity

The Great War had created a sense of purpose in Canada which had not previously existed. Sir Arthur Currie, president of the Montreal local committee of the NCE, claimed:

> The "get together" movement dreamed of long before the war in the confederation legislation of our fathers really materialized in the trenches. It was born of suffering and unselfishness and courage and faith in each other, of common ideals and great achievements and obdurate death.[64]

The army had been for many a school of Canadianism which taught lessons of national sentiment while at the same time destroying provincial narrowness. George W. Kerby, president of the Calgary local committee, warned Canadians that they must build on this new spirit.

> The Great War has swept Canada out into the deep currents of life. It has enlarged our sense of nationhood, and we must be prepared to meet it.[65]

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[63] Ibid., p. 788.

[64] Arthur Currie, The New Canadianism, Address Delivered Before the Eighth Annual Conference of Heads of Canadian Universities (Montreal: McGill University Publications, 1922), p. 2.

[65] St. Steven's College (University of Alberta) Archives, George W. Kerby Papers, G. W. Kerby, "National Needs in Education and Citizenship," n.d.

Many Canadians proved ready to meet that challenge. Many agreed with Currie that the spirit that the war had generated should not be lost. During the 1920's a range of events bespoke a rising tide of Canadianism. This was first evident in calls for symbols which identified Canada. Both in popular magazines[66] and in the House of Commons[67] calls were made for the adoption of a distinctive Canadian flag. In a move toward the adoption of a distinctive Canadian anthem, the Association of Canadian Clubs, at their 1922 annual convention, recommended the use of Dr. T. Richardson's version of "O'Canada".[68]

Concerns were expressed about the process of assimilating Canada's many non-British immigrants. The 1922 Saskatchewan meeting of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of The Empire called on the government to institute daily patriotic exercises in the schools.[69] The Association of Canadian Clubs, at their 1928 annual meeting, called on the federal government to recognize a distinctive Canadian nationality for the racial origin question on the 1931 census.[70] One author even called on the government to abolish all record of racial origin because of the tendency of such records to perpetuate peculiar traditions.[71]

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[66] E. g. Harvey Baldwin, Letter to the editor, The Canadian Forum, II (August, 1922), pp. 715-16.

[67] Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1920, Vol. 1, pp. 833-35.

[68] Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1922 (Toronto: Canadian Review Company Limited, 1923), p. 877.

[69] Ibid., p. 383.

[70] The Times, Sept. 8, 1928, p. 9.

[71] W. Burton Hurd, "Is There A Canadian Race?" Queen's Quarterly, XXXV (Autumn, 1928), p. 615.

A sense of a new Canadian direction was evident in the publications which emerged in the post-war period. The Canadian Authors Association was formed in 1919 and began immediately to publish a new journal, *The Canadian Bookman*.[72] This provided Canadian writers with a national link which they had never had before. *The Canadian Forum* declared, in its first issue in 1920:

> Too much of our news is coloured and distorted before ever it reaches the Canadian press. Too often our convictions are borrowed from London, Paris or New York. Real independence is not the product of tariffs and treaties. It is a spiritual thing. No country has reached its full stature, which makes its goods at home, but not its faith or philosophy.[73]

In a declaration two years later the magazine outlined its intention to remain an agency for the discussion of issues vital to Canadians.[74] True to its word it pursued a Canadian orientation, took a liberal view of French-English relations and, in at least one instance, even published an article in French.[75] Other new publications appeared at this time as well: *The Canadian Historical Review*, *Dalhousie Review*, *McGill Fortnightly*, and *Canadian Mercury*, each catering to a new and growing Canadian audience.

More impressive evidence of this new Canadian spirit was to be seen in the increased Canadian outlook of existing publications. *The Canadian Magazine*, which had been founded in 1892 with the aim of

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[72] Included in the editorial committee were three men later to become active in the NCE, James Alfred Dale, John Murray Gibbon and George H. Locke.

[73] *The Canadian Forum*, I (Oct., 1920), p. 3.

[74] *Ibid.*, II (June, 1922), p. 672.

[75] Leo Paul Morin, "Pour une Musique Canadienne," *ibid.*, VIII (July, 1928), pp. 713-14.

". . . cultivating Canadian patriotism and Canadian interests . . . ,"[76] was taken over by new owners in 1926. An increased Canadian orientation was immediately evident with more fiction written by Canadians or based in Canada, numerous articles on Canadian history and a series of articles on outstanding Canadians. The intention of the new owners was one of making The Canadian Magazine what its name implied.[77] In a similar way, Queen's Quarterly, the established journal published by Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, in 1928 instituted a column of comment on current events which reflected a distinctly Canadian view of world affairs. It was obvious that Canadians were beginning to see themselves in a new light and were no longer content to view the world as British colonists.

The new mood in Canada was dynamic and virile. While many Canadians felt that the transplanted British standards of the colonial period were too confining, there was no great desire to abide blindly by the cultural mores of the United States either. There was a desire to find a "conservative-progressive" identity, one which reflected the traditional values of Britain while at the same time incorporating the freedom and progress of the new world.

The field which most typified this Canadian search for a distinctive identity in the post-war period was painting. Toronto was beginning to wrest the dominance of English-speaking Canada away from Montreal and it was there, in 1920, that the Group of Seven held their first group show. For the next eleven years this group and their followers continued to exhibit a form of Canadian Impressionism. The group looked to the Canadian landscape for their inspiration, symbolically rejecting both the dictates of European artistic tradition and the attraction of American Social Expressionism.

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[76] The Canadian Magazine, editorial, March, 1926, p. 8.

[77] Ibid., editorial, January, 1929, p. 3.

If Canadians had a distinctive identity, of what did it consist? Observers, Canadian and non-Canadian alike, agreed that one of the country's outstanding characteristics was its sectionalism or provincialism.[78] One of the few evident links between these regions were symbols of the Empire, such as pictures of the King and Queen or frequent singing of "God Save The King."[79] Yet despite this overt display of imperial trappings, there was agreement that Canadians were not wedded to tradition,[80] and that they had great independence of mind.[81] There was also agreement that they were not so American in their outlook that they had a need to create heroes of superhuman proportions,[82] nor to demand complete conformity to some "100 per-cent" standard.[83]

Visitors observed that Canadians had a strong attachment to their country and a desire to serve it, but they also noted that Canadians had a sense of self doubt about their ability. A Canadian Magazine editorial spoke of

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[78] Currie, op. cit., pp. 3-4; Baillie, op. cit., p. 56; The Canadian Forum, editorial, VII (April, 1927), p. 195.

[79] Baillie, op. cit., pp. 26, 121.

[80] E. E. Braithwaite, "Canada as a World Leader," The Canadian Magazine, July, 1922, pp. 180-181.

[81] Baillie, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

[82] Frank Underhill, "Canadian Politics and Canadian National Feeling," The Canadian Forum, VIII (Dec., 1927), pp. 465-66.

[83] O. D. Skelton, "Current Events: Making Bolshevists," Queen's Quarterly, XXVII (Winter, 1920), p. 320.

> . . . that peculiar Canadian attitude that makes us cherish and speak with pride of our Canadian heritage and, at the same time, inclines us to look askance at Canadian things.[84]

Some Canadians attributed this feeling of national inferiority to a measure of modesty and a lack of knowledge about Canada by Canadians.[85]

NCE Publications

It was this conviction, that Canadians did not know themselves, that led the National Council into the field of book publishing. Originally conceived as a means of having experts develop textbooks for Canadian school children, the idea was expanded to a programme of producing books on educational topics for teachers as well. With the encouragement of Vincent Massey; James Alfred Dale and George H. Locke, both active members of the Canadian Authors' Association, took on the task of encouraging the publication of a number of educational books.

The first two books published by the NCE were not textbooks but were aimed at adults. One, The School Theatre by Roy Mitchell,[86] was designed to assist school teachers with school drama productions, but was also a valuable handbook for Little Theatre companies. Mitchell, a Canadian, had been the first director of Hart House Theatre when it opened in 1919. He was primarily interested in professional theatre and was not regarded as a strong supporter of Canadian amateur theatre.[87]

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[84] The Canadian Magazine, editorial, October, 1928, p. 3.

[85] John G. Murray, "The Country That Isn't So," The Canadian Magazine, February, 1929, pp. 13-14.

[86] Roy Mitchell, The School Theatre: A Handbook of Theory and Practice (Toronto: National Council of Education, 1925).

[87] Fred Jacob, "The Stage," Canadian Forum, VIII (Oct. 5, 1927), pp. 417-18.

This attitude showed through in the book. The School Theatre had no Canadian content or orientation except for the inclusion of some Canadian addresses in the list of suppliers. It is evident from the large number of American references used and suppliers referred to that Mitchell did not share the apprehensions of Ney and Massey about the Americanization of Canada.

The second book was more in line with the type of book that the Winnipeg committee had desired. Smiths of a Better Quality[88] epitomized the idealistic views of that group:

> Only by working through the children in our schools may we expect to see these high ideals of good citizenship, health and humanity become nation wide, fusing our people into a homogeneous whole, with high national character; for such common ideals and aspirations are the real melting pot which will eventually make us worthwhile individually, and collectively as a nation.[89]

The author, Colonel George G. Nasmith, was the Honorary Advisor in Public Health to the Canadian Red Cross Society, Chairman of the Committee on Home Nursing Classes and Chairman of The Junior Red Cross Committee. His book reflects this background.

The book was intended to show teachers, parents and senior students how health and society at large were related. It covered a wide range of topics in the area of health education. Using the format of a novel, it outlined the life of an ideal Canadian family. Proper nutrition to provide vitamins, increased cleanliness to prevent the spread of germs, improved physical environment both at home and at school, insistence on standards of manners and behaviour, employment of school health inspectors, teacher concern with pupil's health and promotion of such things as scientific childbirth, modern plumbing, cooking, washing, cleaning and lighting made up only part of its message. Patriotism and a pro-military outlook were also portrayed as part of this general picture of an involved citizenry. The book characterized the ideal teacher as having unbounded enthusiasm, knowledge and dedication, rejecting authoritarian approaches, drawing heavily on the theories of Montessori, Froebel and Freud, and actively giving of their time and ability to the community. The book praised the work of the Junior Red Cross as a means of combining knowledge of health with improved citizenship. Nasmith, in fact, made the same claim for the Red Cross Society as the Winnipeg conference had made for the National Council, that it was an attempt to apply to peacetime the same spirit of service that had occurred in wartime.[90]

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[88] George G. Nasmith, Smiths of A Better Quality (n.p.: National Council of Education, 1925).

[89] Ibid., p. 137.

Despite the difficulty of distributing books which had been privately published, within a year Locke, with the assistance of William Lawson Grant, a member of The NCE executive and Headmaster of Upper Canada College, had sold 2,500 copies of these books.[91] The costs of publishing these volumes (and that of This Canada of Ours by Charles Norris Cochrane and William Stewart Wallace which was published in early 1926) had already been met by the time of The Montreal Conference and $1,300 worth of unsold copies were still available for sale.[92]

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[90] Ibid., pp. 115-116.

[91] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, pp. 7-8.

[92] Ibid., p. 9.

Unlike the first two books, This Canada of Ours[93] was aimed at school children. Cochrane, the history professor who had co-authored the Council's study of history and civics teaching, was joined by Wallace, the librarian of the University of Toronto Library, in producing a civics text for Canadian schools. In the introduction, Vincent Massey heralded the authors for producing a book which was Canadian in tone and outlook and which described the operation of Canadian government in a way which would appeal to children.

The formula used by Cochrane and Wallace was quite simple. After a brief geographical sketch of the nine provinces and a few pages on the development of Canada, the book moved on to a detailed description of how the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government functioned, how the law was administered and what was expected of citizens. The tone was decidedly nationalistic throughout, although it is evident that the authors held the ideal type of Canadian to be of British origin.[94] Although it praised the use of the Union Jack, it also spoke with favour of the expanding use of the Red Ensign ". . . as a symbol of our National freedom and independence within the Empire."[95]

While the book would seem to meet the expectations of many of the more nationalistic individuals involved in the Toronto publishing operation, it had one serious flaw. Although it purported to be a book for Canadian schools, all of the examples selected by the authors to illustrate provincial and local government were drawn from one province - Ontario. In the minds of many people in the rest of the country, such an attempt to promote one province's position was little better than the British or American books already in use. None the less, the book was obviously popular: five years later a new, revised edition of it was issued.[96]

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[93] Charles Norris Cochrane and William Stewart Wallace, This Canada of Ours: An Introduction to Canadian Civics (n.p.: National Council of Education, 1926).

[94] E. g. ". . . all the different people of our race, English, Scottish and Irish . . .", Ibid., p. 45.

[95] Ibid., p. 46.

At the 1926 conference Ney had announced his intention to attempt to increase the cultural activities of the NCE by focusing on music over the next triennial period. This was begun in 1926 with the lecture tour on French-Canadian folk music by Charles Marchand. The following year the NCE published a selection of French-Canadian folk songs with English translations and simplified harmonizations.[97] John Murray Gibbon, the selector and translator, was assisted by Marchand in this undertaking. Ney wrote a foreward to the book which was intended as a means of creating a better understanding of French Canada among English Canadians. The book proved so popular that it was reprinted two years later.[98]

The Council was also responsible for the publication of three other books which arose out of the lectureship scheme. Following the 1927 tour by the choirs of St. George's Chapel and Westminster Abbey, a book describing the tour and one on each of the two churches and their music were published.[99] The former presented a number of interesting observations, from a visitor's point of view, both of Canada and of the National Council.[100]

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[96] Although this edition still carried the NCE crest on the title page, Massey's introduction and all other mention of the Council had been removed.

[97] J. Murray Gibbon, Canadian Folk Songs: Old and New (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1927).

[98] In the second edition, not only was Ney's foreward omitted, the NCE crest disappeared as well.

At the 1926 conference, Massey had announced that two other NCE books were in preparation, a Canadian song book by Ernest MacMillan and a book on school music by Duncan McKenzie. MacMillan, a member of the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto, was asked by the Council to include ". . . the best songs (whatever their origins) that have taken root in Canadian soil . . . ."[101] MacMillan was well qualified to undertake this task. Already gaining an admirable reputation in Canadian music circles, he had recently aided in the completion of a hymn book for Ukrainian Canadians.[102] He had, in a popular magazine, called on Canadians to broaden the scope of their culture and learn the songs of the New Canadians.

> Who knows what the thousands who arrive yearly from Central Europe and elsewhere would have to give us, if we would but listen? We have been too much concerned with teaching the

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[99] Baillie, op. cit.; L. T. Tanner, Westminster Abbey and its Music (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1927); St. George's Chapel and Choir (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1927).

[100] In his attempts in the late 1940's to revive the Council, Ney published a pamphlet, The Foundations and Achievements of the National Council of Education of Canada, which lists two other books as NCE publications. These books, Teacher's Trails in Canada, 1925 (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1926), and Mary Justin Mann, ed., Canadian Undergraduates in Europe (Toronto: Robert D. Croft, 1928), were actually publications of the Overseas Education League. Ney was so deeply involved with these two bodies that they were, to him, simply different parts of the same organization.

[101] Ernest MacMillan, ed., A Canadian Song Book (London/Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. Published under the Auspices of the NCE, 1929), author's preface, p. V.

[102] Ernest MacMillan, "Folk-Songs of French Canada," The Canadian Forum, VI (December, 1925), p. 79.

> new arrivals our own ways, and too little in discovering what contributions they are capable of making to our national life.[103]

It is surprising to look at his book with this statement in mind. While two German, one Slovak and one Russian song were included, there is no other indication of this interest in the music of the "New Canadian." The songs were overwhelmingly British with almost as many American songs as French ones.[104] MacMillan recognized the nationalistic tensions of the British Isles by including anti-English songs such as "Johnnie Cope", "The Shan Van Voght" and "March of the Men of Harlech" as well as "Agincourt Song" and "Rule Britannia." French Canada's nationalism, however, was not only overlooked but songs such as "Heart of Oak" and "The Maple Leaf Forever", which many French Canadians found offensive, were included.

One reviewer remarked:

> Titles of books that claim to be in any way distinctively Canadian are usually misleading. Dr. MacMillan's song book is, of course, international since we have adopted folk-tunes from almost all nations.· · · How this collection differs from the many song books already existing is not clearly defined.[105]

The reviewer was partly right, the title was misleading. MacMillan's book was not distinctively Canadian in the way that Gibbon's had been, but neither was it truly international. It did not reflect the songs of the newer immigrants, there were no distinctively English-Canadian songs and the bulk of the book was devoted to music intended to maintain or strengthen the emotional ties to Britain. Although this was the most successful of the NCE's books, and was one with which the original Winnipeg founders of the Council, Ney and most of the executive probably found favour, it was one which more closely reflected the pre-1914 Canada than the Canada of the late 1920's. As a Canadian song book, it was singularly un-Canadian.

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[103] *Ibid*.

[104] Twenty-eight English songs, thirteen Scottish, ten Irish, three Welsh, seven American and nine French and French-Canadian songs were included.

[105] *The Canadian Forum*, X (October, 1929), p. 30.

Duncan McKenzie's book, Music in the Junior School,[106] was published in 1930. It was intended for music teachers, especially those in rural areas with limited music training and without access to music specialists. McKenzie, director of music for the Toronto school board, wished to improve the quality of music instruction in rural areas by introducing a system which did not require extensive musical training.

Music in the Junior School promoted the Tonic Solfa system and its use of hand signs which had been developed in England by Reverend John Curwen. This system had become quite widespread in Britain where the music programme in the schools tended to focus on choral singing. By the time Duncan McKenzie had written his book in 1930 it had also been adopted by Scottish Normal Schools.

There is no evidence of widespread use of this book in Canadian schools. There are a number of probable reasons for this. Many of the rural teachers at whom the book was aimed were not educated in the use of the Tonic Solfa method. In order for the book to be of use, more instruction was necessary. The depression, which held Canada in its grip by the time the book was published, made it financially impossible for teachers or schools to purchase it. The eventual use of radio receivers, gramaphones and musical instruments in the schools began to change the nature of music instruction.

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[106] Duncan McKenzie, Music in the Junior School, (Toronto: Dent, 1930).

The NCE publishing venture was a limited success. Three of the books, those by Cochrane and Wallace, MacMillan and Gibbon, all proved to be popular enough to merit republication. The others did not fare as well. The depression, which began in 1929, interrupted this publishing programme before a number of the more controversial titles could be published. Although not all of the aims of the publication committee were met, the effort was, none the less, an attempt to focus attention on specific educational problems on a national scale.

The Lectureship Scheme

Ney's declaration, at the 1926 conference, of his intention of developing a music focus for the Council was born out in the following winter's lecture season. Between January 21 - March 24, 1927, the Dean of Windsor, the Very Reverend Albert Victor Baillie and the combined choirs of Westminster Abbey and St. George's Chapel of Windsor Castle toured Canada for the NCE. Making arrangements for a group of twenty-four visitors at one time was a major undertaking, especially for some of the smaller centres.[107] The local committees in the centres visited gained broad support from other community organizations. The visitors not only performed, they also gave lectures and provided workshops for musicians, music teachers, choir directors and school children.

Although the response was not as great in Quebec as in the rest of Canada,[108] the choirs were very well received. In Toronto, for example, they sang the Evensong at Canon Henry John Cody's St. Paul's Church which held 3,500 people. The service had to be repeated the following day to accommodate some of the 10,000 people who were turned away at the door.[109] The idea of a music focus for the Council seemed to meet the approval of Canadians.

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[107] The choirs visited even such small towns as Yorkton, Saskatchewan where, Ney declared, the spirit of enthusiasm the local committee displayed merited special consideration. Baillie, op. cit., p. 26.

As long as the Council continued to attract speakers or performers of top calibre, Canadians were enthusiastic. One report stated:

> We need more of such visits. We hope that the great work of the Council of Education will continue to grow, expand, and prosper, that the course of true education which embraces every phase of life, may benefit.[110]

Such praise, however, did not pay bills, and Ney's enthusiasm for the lectureship scheme and the response that some speakers received often seemed to blind him to the Council's limitations. He assumed that others would be as enthusiastic about the undertaking as he was, a trait which businessmen on the Council found most annoying.[111]

The lectureship scheme was also endangered by Ney's health. Ney was still largely responsible for selecting individual speakers and performers who would be popular in Canada and persuading them to come. He was hospitalized again in the fall of 1927. This, and the pressure of preparing for the 1929 triennial conference, resulted in the interruption of the lectures in the fall of 1928.

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[108] _Ibid._, p. 55.

[109] _Ibid._, p. 107.

[110] _Yorkton Enterprise_, quoted in _ibid._, pp. 161-162.

[111] E. g., Ney had to be called to account by Beatty for suggesting that the Canadian Pacific Railway might supply Alfred Noyes with a private rail car for his 1927 lecture tour. CPCA, _op. cit._, 124, Letter, Beatty to Ney, Nov. 9, 1927, pp. 196-17; 125, Letter, Beatty to Richardson, Dec. 30, 1927, p. 191.

A question had also arisen about the very nature of the lectureship scheme. Robert Falconer warned Ney shortly after the Montreal conference that interest in lectures was beginning to sag.[112] As a result of this criticism, in keeping with his aim of raising the artistic awareness of Canadians during this triennial period, and in preparation for the 1929 conference theme of leisure and education, Ney attempted to increase the cultural scope of the programme. Two of the speakers in the 1927-28 season were Harry Irvine, the ex-president of the English National Shakespeare Federation, and May Elliot Hobbs of the English Folk Dance Society.

While this new emphasis pleased some, those who defined education in a narrower, more practical sense were not pleased with cultural events and general lectures. Such individuals felt that there should be more ". . . emphasis placed on the necessity of moral education and character building."[113] Increasingly some NCE supporters felt that Council was getting too far away from its original purposes.

Criticism was also beginning to arise about the quality of the speakers. By the 1926-27 season some lecturers were coming back for return engagements. The first of these was Lowell Thomas. Thomas, described by Ney on his first NCE tour in 1925-26 as "an author, explorer and lecturer," was asked to repeat the circuit in 1926-27, and 1927-28. This in itself must have caused some objections, but even more complaints were raised about the fact that he was lecturing on Palestine, India and Lawrence of Arabia. Some objections were raised about Thomas, an American, lecturing on "British topics,"[114] and others about his lack of knowledge on the topics.[115] Some were also alienated by Thomas's personality which was, apparently, somewhat less than pleasant.[116]

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[112] UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 103, Ney File, Letter, Falconer to Ney, Nov. 26, 1926.

[113] *Ibid.*

Part of the dissatisfaction with the lecturers was due to changes which were taking place in society. By the mid-1920's, the cinema had replaced the theatre as the most popular form of public entertainment. Not only was interest in lectures beginning to lag, interest in moving pictures was growing. At least two of the Council's speakers, Lowell Thomas and Greenwood Adams, attempted to counter this trend by using motion pictures to provide illustrated talks. Although there were some objections raised about this practice,[117] Ney had long regarded movies as an educational tool. He saw the illustrated lecture as a means of showing the public that educational use could be made of this new medium.[118]

The Edmonton local committee continued to be a source of trouble for Ney. Although a committee was functioning there, relations between Ney and the local committee were never good. One of the problems which arose was over the question of financial guarantees. In order to ensure the success of the choir tour, the Council had asked local centres to guarantee their estimated expenses. Edmonton was asked to pledge $750 to the headquarters of the Council.[119] The success of the tour ensured that there was no problem in raising this money - the amount actually collected in Edmonton was $2,069.38.[120] Ney, however, had difficulty collecting this $750 from the Edmonton local[121] and, after a protracted period of unsuccessful correspondence, he omitted Edmonton from the itineraries of the lecture circuit until the account was finally paid.[122]

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[114] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B), Letter, Ney to Tory, Sept. 3, 1926.

[115] Correspondence, V. P. Seary to the author, July 28, 1976.

[116] *Ibid.*, ". . . possibly the most egotistical, disagreeable man I ever met. And I have, as a publisher, met some dandies."

[117] UAA, Tory Papers, 904-1(B), Letter, Tory to Ney, Nov. 3, 1927.

[118] *Ibid.*, Letter, Ney to Tory, Nov. 16, 1927.

In later years, some criticisms were raised that the NCE lectureship scheme was too British in orientation, and that it did not give sufficient exposure to Canadian figures. The fault did not lie completely with Ney. The Association of Canadian Clubs made a practice of including a number of Canadian speakers in their tours. When the club approached the NCE local in Edmonton regarding the possibility of sharing the costs of a visit by Bliss Carman, the Canadian poet, Tory's reply was, "I do not think he can make a contribution which warrants my asking the board for money for that purpose."[123] Two years later a similar offer to obtain the services of another Canadian poet, Edwin John Pratt, was refused with the comment, "I do not think a recital of Mr. Pratt's poems will be of any value from a university point of view."[124] The Canadian nationalism which was growing in some quarters did not seem to be having an impact on all Canadians in the 1920's.

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[119] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Tory, Jan. 24, 1927.

[120] Ibid., Letter, John Blue to Tory, Feb. 18, 1927.

[121] Ibid., Letter; Ney to William Alexander Robb Kerr, April 18, 1927.

[122] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Katherine J. Evans, Sept. 24, 1927.

[123] University of Saskatchewan Archives, Presidential Papers, Series 1:A-74, General Correspondence (Tor), Letter, Tory to Murray, Sept. 26, 1925.

Even the National Council's lectureship programme faced a threat from encroaching American influence. Shortly after his arrival in the United States, Vincent Massey was approached by Arthur Bestor, the President of Chautauqua and President of The American Association for Adult Education. Bestor wished to create a link between the NCE's lectureships and similar work taking place in the United States under the Chautauqua banner. Massey's advice was that the NCE ". . . should avoid Bestor's organization taking in Canada simply as one geographical area of its work."[125]

Canada's Place in a Changing World

The decade of the 'twenties' was a turning point in Canadian life. World War I had created a new spirit of Canadianism across the country which was, as yet, being articulated by only a few individuals. It was a time when old structures and methods were either being discarded or changed in the face of new conditions. One of the most important changes that occurred was the alteration of Canada's position vis-à-vis the United Kingdom and the United States. It was a change which affected both Canada's position in the world and Canadians' conception of themselves. One of the new nationalistic journals which arose in Canada after the Great War summed up Canada's dilemma:

> One she dislikes yet imitates, the other she admires but

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[124] UAA, Tory Papers, 1101-1, Letter, Tory to J. A. McLean, July 29, 1927.

[125] Public Archives of Canada (Hereinafter abbreviated PAC), W. L. Grant Papers, Letter, Massey to Grant, April 13, 1927.

> finds too difficult to follow . . . .
> . . . .
> The States we do not wish to follow, neither do we think it wise that we should, and Britain's conditions are so different that her path cannot be altogether ours.[126]

At the end of World War I, despite the evidence of a growing nationalist sentiment, Canada was still firmly British. Most leading figures in Canada saw Canadian participation in the peace negotiations and the League of Nations not in terms of Canadian subservience to the mother country but as a co-operative effort. Although the war wrought some alterations in the way in which the Empire functioned, the structure remained unchanged.

So did much of the popular sentiment. Membership in pro-British organizations was never stronger in Canada than during the 1920's. Many organizations were actively involved in promoting closer links between Canada and the United Kingdom. The International Order of the Daughters of the Empire had a membership of over 30,000 by 1922. The IODE created travelling fellowships in imperial history, set up libraries on imperial topics and offered scholarships for study in Britain.[127] Groups such as the Sons of England and Saint Andrew's Societies were popular across Canada and worked to maintain and promote ties with "the mother country." Despite the role that the Canadian army had played in creating a sense of Canadian identity during the war, the Royal Canadian Legion was one of the strongest defenders of the British connection, opposing, for example, calls for a distinctive Canadian flag.[128]

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[126] The Rebel, editorial, IV (October, 1919), p. 5.

[127] "An Educational Memorial Fund, "The Canadian Magazine, Jan., 1920, pp. 273-75.

Ideas such as imperial federation which had been popular in the late nineteenth century were still alive.[129] Canada's leading columnist, Sir John Willison of The Canadian Magazine and Willison's Monthly, kept the idea of empire before his readers. Colonel George T. Denison, Canada's leading imperialist, also wrote a regular column in The Canadian Magazine until 1920. As late as 1921, William Lawson Grant, the principal of Upper Canada College, was working to have the British Secretary of State for the Colonies create an imperial civil service which would draw employees from the whole empire.[130]

Many Canadians were very suspicious of nationalism. Due, perhaps, to strong United Empire Loyalist traditions, Canadians looked upon nationalism as destructive. Nationalism was portrayed as a divisive rather than as a unifying force. Canadian magazines and journals during the 1920's made a distinction between destructive nationalism, almost always using Ireland as an example (and, one feels, by inference the United States as well), and the constructive nationalism of Wales, Scotland and Quebec.[131] There was general agreement that Canada did not want the type of nationalism associated with the United States.

None of us can make any man a better Canadian by feeding

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[128] The Times, Nov. 29, 1929, p. 13.

[129] See, Carl Berger, The Sense of Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); John Kendle, The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

[130] UAA, Tory Papers, Box 21, 902-3b, Letter, Currie to Tory, Jan. 19, 1921.

[131] Nationalism was seen by one author as similar to a bad temper, one cannot help having the trait, but if one can keep it checked, controlled and repressed, everyone will be better off. J. L. Morrison "Nationality and Common Sense," Queen's Quarterly, XXVIII (Autumn, 1920), pp. 145-160.

> him nationalistic propaganda on the American plan. That can only produce a spurious patriotism; the patriotism that flowers in self conceit, and vulgarity, and jingoism; the patriotism that is 'the last refuge of a scoundrel.'[132]

In The United Kingdom, what little recognition was given to the newly emerging dominions took the form of organizations dedicated to the maintenance of imperial bonds. Throughout the Empire, Round Table Clubs met to discuss the future of the Empire. The English-speaking Union worked to preserve and promote common bonds. The Overseas League encouraged travel throughout the empire and provided accommodation for members visiting London.

Many Canadians continued to look to education to perpetuate the British connection. Calls went out for England to provide teachers, especially for service in settlements of "foreigners" on the prairies.[133] English music teachers were urged to assist in raising Canada's cultural level.[134] George R. Parkin, former headmaster of Upper Canada College, in his role with the Rhodes Trust, continued to promote the cause of imperialism throughout the empire. Periodic calls were even made for the creation of an imperial university[135] or graduate school,[136] or even for a requirement that all Canadian professors must study in

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[132] Richard de Brisay, review article, The Canadian Forum, VIII, (December, 1927), p. 457.

[133] F. H. Eva Hassell, Across the Prairies in a Motor Caravan (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1922), Appendix 1, p. 112.

[134] Baillie, op. cit., p. 27.

[135] W. F. Osborne, response to "Canadian Education and Empire Citizenship," United Empire, XV (1924), p. 430.

[136] Ira A. MacKay, "Educational Preparedness," The Canadian Magazine, February, 1919, p. 818.

England.[137]

In the schools of Canada, teachers continued to see one of their tasks as being the inculcation of qualities of "British pluck" and "British fair play" and an appreciation of such things as "British justice". The schools continued to reflect imperial sentiment in such things as flag ceremonies, the use of the Union Jack as a Canadian flag, the use of God Save the King as a national anthem, school sponsored cadet corps, and commemoration of Armistice Day, Victoria Day and Empire Day.[138]

There was, however, a body of opinion in Canada which did not accept this imperialism. New, nationalistic journals were attacking such aspects of imperialism as the British Empire League[139] and the Loyal Orange Lodge[140] as actually working against the cause of Canadian unity. Other Canadians were critical of some British attitudes towards Canada:

> . . . those short-sighted and ill informed critics who have never understood us, who make little effort to understand us, who think of us still as one hundred and fifty years ago, and who like to speak of us always as "Colonials," still in the infant stage, mewling in our nurse's arms. This attitude has always been resented in Canada.[141]

Others attacked Canadian imperialists as being nothing more than professional patriots, busybodies, undemobilized warriors, incurable romantics, cultists or self-centred protectionists.[142]

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[137] W. L. Grant, "Truncated Imperialism," Willison's Monthly, December, 1927, p. 251.

[138] See Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists," Journal of Canadian Studies, VIII (August, 1973), pp. 34-42.

[139] The Canadian Forum I, (February, 1921), p. 131.

[140] Ibid., I, No. 2, (August, 1921), p. 324.

[141] Currie, The New Canadianism, p. 6.

Part of the process of throwing off links with the empire included a growing infatuation with the United States. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Canada's prime minister for much of the inter-war period, had studied and worked in the United States and held Americans in high esteem. In this regard, he was not too different from many other Canadians. A number of Canadian authors commented on the similarity between the two peoples,[143] and on the growing American influence on Canadian life.[144] Concern over American influence in news gathering and reporting had led to the formation of Canadian Press news service in 1910. The concern was not strong enough, however, to create a marked difference in the news provided, it was still fundamentally American.[145]

While the tide of Americanism appeared to be growing, not everyone felt that it should be unopposed. One observer saw it not as a tide, but rather claimed: "American influence seeps in everywhere like drainage. . . ."[146] Many Canadians were upset by American boasting about having won the Great War. The Toronto Exhibition Board was angered by such claims to the extent that they erected a display which named the allies in bold letters and listed the minor contributors, including the United States, in small type.[147] Many Canadians were upset by American ignorance about Canada,[148] others about American innovations to the English language,[149] and still others about Canadian acceptance of American educational "reforms".[150]

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[142] F. M. Underhill, "O Canada," The Canadian Forum, IX (August, 1929), pp. 376-77.

[143] E. g., E. E. Braithwaite, "Canada and Her Big Neighbour," The Canadian Magazine, September, 1922, p. 409.

[144] William Caldwell, "Impressions of Ontario", The Canadian Magazine, June, 1920, p. 161.

[145] Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1922 (Toronto: See Canadian Review Company, Limited, 1923), pp. 71-73. See also Joseph Scanlon "Canada Sees the World Through U. S. Eyes: One Case in Cultural Domination," The Canadian Forum, LIV, (September, 1974), pp. 34-39.

[146] PAC, W. L. Grant Papers, Letter, Grant to Sir Maurice Hankey, April 26, 1920.

The problem in the 1920's was that Canada was in a transition period, having outgrown one role, rejecting another, and searching for one which suited the mood of its population. Canadians faced the problem of being confused as British by the Americans and as Americans by the British.[151] As a result of this confusion and this search for an identity, there arose a view of Canada, held at least by Canadians, that this country should ". . . act politically as an interpreter between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, Great Britain and the United States."[152]

This position was established in the minds of many by the role that Canada played in having the British-Japanese Naval Alliance abrogated in 1921. It tended to grow during the 1920's because of the role that Canada played in the League of Nations as the spokesman for North America. Confirmation of this took place with the Balfour declaration in 1926, the establishment of a Canadian legation in Washington in 1927 and the appointment of a British High Commissioner to Ottawa in 1928.

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[147] Gwendolyn Macleod, "International Jealousy," The Canadian Magazine, February, 1920, pp. 337-42.

[148] Murray, "The Country That Isn't So", p. 15.

[149] J. Willison "From Month to Month," The Canadian Magazine, June, 1922, p. 96.

[150] T.E.A.S., "Made in Canada," ATA Magazine, June, 1920, p. 5.

[151] E. C. Wright, "On Being Canadian", The Canadian Forum, VI (September, 1926), pp. 374-75; Howard McConnell, "Canada's Ambassador to Washington," The Canadian Magazine, September, 1921, pp. 358-59.

[152] Henry Munro , Address to the 1926 Conference on Education and Cooperation, April 6, 1926.

Many Canadians were very pleased with these developments. There was in Canada a growing spirit, not of independence or republicanism but of "dominionism". It was a desire to establish an identity rooted in the past, based on co-operation and mediation, yet at the same time distinctly Canadian. Autonomy of the spirit had been established during the war, Canadians felt free. One writer declared:

> . . . it is not necessary for Englishmen and Irishmen and Scotchmen [sic] and Welshmen at Westminster to grant self-government to Englishmen and Irishmen and Scotchmen [sic] and Welshmen or their descendents in Canada. We already have it.[153]

Formal changes in constitutional law and international recognition simply confirmed the world's acceptance of this changed status.

The selection of Vincent Massey to serve as Canada's first representative to Washington was an apt one. The appointment of an individual with a recognized loyalty to British political and cultural traditions calmed the fears of imperialists in both Canada and the United Kingdom. As a businessman who used and appreciated American business methods, he was able to understand and deal with Americans on an equal footing. He would not have been the choice of the more militant nationalists but he reflected the Canada of 1927.

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[153] W. E. Raney, "Nations Within the Empire," The Canadian Magazine, February, 1921, p. 291.

Cockshutt's Presidency

In a sense, the National Council of Education also reflected the spirit of Canada in the late 1920's. Although Vincent Massey had ceased to be president of the organization, he continued to be a member of the Council. The Council had, at the Montreal meeting, given up any thought of making direct and immediate changes to the way that education in Canada was organized, but had opted, instead, to place its faith in a slower, more evolutionary type of change using indirect methods.

Canadians, like their American neighbours, had faith in the power of education. This was reflected in the NCE's lectureship and publishing schemes. In a way reminiscent of Britain, Canadians of the twenties were also somewhat infatuated with titles and rank. This was evident in the NCE, both in the selection of members and officers for the Council and also in the choice of speakers included in the lectureship programme. The NCE, like Canada itself, was sort of a halfway house reflecting the two great nations of the English-speaking world.

Through the NCE, a measure of Canadian autonomy and identity were coming to be recognized in Great Britain and the United States. As a follow up to the Canadian tour by the combined Windsor Castle and Westminster Abbey Choirs, a special Empire Day celebration was held in the Central Hall of Westminster. An illustrated talk was given on the tour, "O Canada" was sung by a Canadian baritone and the combined choirs sang a collection of "characteristic Canadian folk-songs" from Gibbon's book which the Council had published. This was followed on July 1, by a special Dominion Day service at Westminster Abby by the two choirs to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of confederation.[154]

The period saw a similar, if less dramatic, growth of recognition of the NCE's work in the United States. An article in a leading American educational journal declared:

> Canada is putting forth a determined and sustained effort to make itself a nation. That it is not quite a nation yet in the accepted sense of that word Canadian patriots freely grant. Despite difficulties, progress in nationalism has, since the close of the war, been rapid. The fostering of national spirit in Canada has been the concern of various groups. Prominent among these is the National Council of Education. . . ..[155]

While many Canadian nationalists would not have agreed that this was what the Council was doing, it was forging links between Canadians.

Even Ney, an admitted and proud imperialist, saw this as one of the Council's tasks. In an address to a gathering in London he declared:

> In Canada we have to nourish and develop a nation - a nation but newly conscious of its nationality and nationhood. . . . Ours is, in fact, the problem of building up a nation out of very diverse, and at times not altogether harmonious, elements. . . . in Canada we have to attempt, at least, to develop simultaneously two citizenships - two loyalties . . .
> . . . .
> first and formost, must be that of building up Canadian Nationality. The second citizenship with which we are concerned is the Imperial citizenship.[156]

He called on Englishmen to recognize the difference between colonies and Dominions. He predicted that, unless this understanding was shown, English neglect and ignorance would drive Canadians into a closer relationship with the Americans with whom they share a continent.[157]

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[154] Baillie, op. cit., pp. 185-189.

[155] Walters, op. cit., p. 528.

[156] Ney, "Canadian Education and Empire Citizenship", United Empire, XV (1924), p. 426.

[157] Ibid., pp. 427-28.

Another NCE member at the same meeting agreed with Ney and urged the United Kingdom to make an effort to provide leadership and example which the emerging dominions could emulate.[158]

By means of the lectureships, Ney was attempting to provide Canada with exposure to leading figures in British life. At the same time, through the NCE publications, Canadians had the opportunity to get to know more about themselves.

The Council itself, however, did not function as efficiently during the 1926-29 period as its founders would have wished. The solid work done during Massey's presidency created a momentum which carried the organization during this triennial period. During the 1923-26 period the National Council's income slightly exceeded its expenditures.[159] The Council's revenue came from individual subscriptions and ". . . limited votes from Provincial governments".[160] The chairman of the finance committee from 1923 to 1926, S. B. Gundy, had succeeded in obtaining sizable annual donations from prominent Canadian individuals and firms.[161] The incoming treasurer, James Richardson, was able to continue this level of support during the 1926-29 period.[162]

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[158] W. F. Osborne, op. cit., pp. 430-31.

[159] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, p. 9.

[160] "National Council of Education," B. C. Teacher, February, 1926, p. 138.

[161] E. g., in 1924 the directors of the T. Eaton Co. approved an annual donation of $500 for the 1924-26 period. T. Eaton Company Limited Archives, Financial Records, National Council of Education File, 1924.

[162] E. g., the T. Eaton Company continued to provide the $500 annual grant until 1932. Ibid., 1924-38; PAC, W. L. Grant Papers, Letter, Grant to Massey, March 11, 1927, indicates that the Massey Foundation was providing a $5000 grant to the NCE as well.

This, however, was not adequate for the Council to undertake its projected programme. Ney, in his 1926 report, declared: ". . . the efforts and achievements of the Council have necessarily been limited by its resources."[163] He was particularly concerned about having the lectureship scheme placed on the basis of an endowed foundation with "chairs" in various disciplines.[164]

One of the resources about which Ney should have been concerned was his own time, health and well-being. The Council was still operating with a full-time staff of only two people, and it was evident that Ney's health would not allow him to undertake any extension of the National Council's programme without assistance. When he accepted the post in 1920 he had been offered a salary of $6,000 per annum but at his own suggestion this was reduced to two-thirds that amount.[165] The 1926 Council meeting increased this to the original sum, but by early 1927 the NCE was so financially pressed that his salary was in arrears.[166] Although Richardson, as Council treasurer, rectified this, the Council during the 1926-29 period never did solve the problem of financing.

Although the Council completed the second phase of its existence in a strong position, it began its third phase on the wrong foot. The poorly attended Montreal Conference did not elect a president and the executive were forced to cajole a man with little knowledge of nor interest in the Council to accept the job. This was unfortunate for the Council. Massey had been able to get a strong publishing operation underway, had assisted Ney in obtaining both popular speakers and those who would assist departments of education in their work, had enlisted support both from businesses and from universities and had generally kept the Council on the paths originally established by the Winnipeg conference. Because of Cockshutt's lack of interest and involvement, the control of the Council's operations slipped almost completely into Ney's hands.

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[163] NCE, Report of the Executive Secretary, 1926, p. 1. No complete record of funding for the 1926 Conference has been located. McGill University, which co-hosted the meeting, contributed only $100. McGUA, op. cit., Letter, Arthur S. Woods to Currie, June 24, 1926. The Province of Quebec refused to contribute anything towards the conference. Ibid., Letter, Bovey to Beatty, June 24, 1926.

[164] NCE, Report of the Executive Secretary, 1926, p. 9.

[165] R. A., op. cit., Letter, Ney to Richardson, Dec. 11, 1935.

[166] PAC, W. L. Grant Papers, Letter, Grant to Massey, March 11, 1927. This situation probably occurred because of the delay in filling the executive positions of president and treasurer.

The rift that the 1926 conference had opened between French and English-speaking Canadians was never healed. There is no record, in fact, of any attempt at this healing process after the conference.

Although the Council abandoned the hope of setting up a bureau of education in 1926, there is no evidence that during the 1926-29 period any organized attempt was being made to consolidate the position which it assumed for itself in the field of adult education. Neither the executive secretary nor the president appears to have attempted to contact and deal with the large number of volunteer adult education agencies or the growing number of institutional adult education organizations being established by universities and school boards. Although the NCE was the only National non-sectarian agency attempting to deal with adult education in Canada, it made little attempt to develop the type of organized programme which would have appealled to academics, bureaucrats or businessmen.

This is not to say that the programmes provided by the NCE were in any way inadequate. While complaints were sometimes made about the quality or the costs of some programmes, or the timing of some of the speakers, Canadians generally reacted positively to the lectureship programme.

The Council's major problem continued to be one of financing. None of the suggestions which Ney made to the 1926 conference, such as the creation of a film bureau, a parent's advisory bureau or a children's magazine, were possible without adequate long-term financing.

While the publishing activity approved at the 1923 conference and encouraged by Massey continued throughout this period, it too was dying. Despite the popularity of those books which had been published, no new books were commissioned. Without the continued interest of the president and in the face of prolonged absences from Canada by the executive secretary the publication committee began to languish.

Following the 1926 conference the concern of the National Council of Education shifted away from the issues of moral and civic education in the schools to the cultural and political awareness of the Canadian public. This awareness, divorced from institutional constraints, became the focus of the fourth triennial NCE conference, the theme of which was "Education and Leisure".

Chapter 7

CULTURE FOR CANADA'S PHILISTINES

By 1929 no informed person questioned Canada's autonomy. Although the details of how a world-wide, multi-countried monarchy would operate had not yet been worked out and the Statute of Westminster had not been passed, political sovereignty had been achieved. The question of Canadian cultural sovereignty now came to the fore.

As the decade of constitutional realignment drew to a close, a new struggle concerning the nature of Canada's culture was beginning. Its outcome would determine whether Canada's slowly evolving governmental and political arrangements would last. In the rush for economic development and national sovereignty, the question of what constituted a Canadian had been largely ignored by government.

Culture reflects the realities of the society in which it is rooted. The reality of Canada in the decade following World War I was not only the development of autonomy and increasing economic growth, it also included an increasing degree of acceptance of American culture.

At the end of the 1920's English-speaking Canadians were located in four major geographic areas largely separated from each other. British Columbians were linked only by rail to those on the prairies who were similarly isolated from Ontario. Although highways linked

Ontario with the Maritimes, they were effectively separated by the French-speaking population of Quebec. Cut off from their fellow countrymen and speaking the language of their neighbours to the south, many Canadians turned to the United States for ideas and inspiration.

This Americanization was assisted by technological advances. Improved automobiles and highways led Canadians not to other parts of Canada but south into the United States. Powerful radio transmitters and continent-wide broadcasting networks led to standardized American programming entering an ever increasing number of Canadian homes. Improvements in motion pictures brought cheap Hollywood movies into all but the most isolated Canadian centres. All of these developments began to alter the lifestyle and outlook of Canadians.

This development was of great concern to many people in Canada. The Canadian nationalists looked to government to pass legislation which would prevent this mindless acceptance of a foreign culture. Government action, however, was not seen as very desirable to many people in the business community. Fearing a growth in "socialistic" government, many businessmen believed the dictum that the best government is the least government. Many Canadian internationalists also hesitated to support a growth of government power which they believed would increase international rivalry.

To Frederick Ney, this increasing Americanization could only be stopped by replacing it with something better. He hoped to provide Canadians with an alternative to American culture. The success of his lectureship scheme to this point encouraged him to expand it and to make it more cultural. He hoped that the Conference on Education and Leisure would stimulate this thrust.

The Fourth Triennial Conference

In many respects the fourth triennial conference of the National Council of Education was the best held by that body. In many respects it was the worst. The meeting clearly reflected the free hand that the executive-secretary, Frederick J. Ney, had over the Council during the 1926-29 period. It also reflected the directions in which Ney believed that the Council and Canada should move.

The speakers' roster reveals a good deal about these directions. Of the twenty-nine speakers, six were from England, six from Australia, two each from Scotland, India, France and Germany and one from each of New Zealand, Japan, Italy and Czechoslovakia. Not one speaker was invited from the United States and, even more importantly, only five of them were Canadian. This was the first conference which Ney had organized by himself, and he used the opportunity to expose Canadians to an extended programme of the type of education which he felt they should have.

In an attempt to cement the bonds of Empire, to complement the work being done by the Overseas Education League and to extend the international links of the National Council, Ney drew on the successful organizational experience of the Winnipeg conference a decade earlier. William Frederick Osborne, who had successfully promoted that first meeting, spent four weeks in New Zealand and five weeks in Australia during the summer of 1928, encouraging Commonwealth involvement in the 1929 conference and promoting the work of the NCE and the OEL.[1] His tour was successful, not only in securing a delegation from each of these countries but also in obtaining seven conference speakers. Following this success, in the fall of 1928, Osborne was sent on a promotional tour across Canada to drum up interest in the Council where support had begun to decline.[2]

In Canadian centres with active NCE local committees, the local committees approached the major organizations urging them to send delegates to the conference.[3] The British Columbia Department of Education, as host to the conference, wrote to all of the leading educators across Canada inviting their own participation and that of their department or institution.[4]

Although the conference had thirty-four foreign delegates from eight different countries,[5] it was not very successful in attracting prominent Canadian educators. Many of those who had attended the earlier conferences did not attend this one. There was an evident decline in interest in such meetings among those who had previously been strong Council supporters.[6]

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[1] University of Alberta Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UAA), Tory Papers, 904-1 (B), National Council of Education (Hereinafter abbreviated NCE), "Report of Professor W. F. Osborne, M. A. of the University of Manitoba on his visit to Australia and New Zealand During the Summer of 1928." Winnipeg: Mimeo, n.d.

[2] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Robert Charles Wallace, Oct. 19, 1928.

[3] Glenbow Alberta Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated GAA), Women's Canadian Club of Calgary, Letter, A. M. Scott to Mrs. M. H. Lester, Jan. 30, 1929.

[4] Saskatchewan Archives Board (Hereinafter abbreviated SAB), Overseas Education League, Letter, S. J. Willis to Augustus H. Ball, February 21, 1929.

[5] Archives of Quebec (Hereinafter abbreviated AQ), Department de l'Instruction publique, 2676-1920, List of Overseas delegates, n.d.

The three previous conferences had been held in co-operation with the universities in Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal. The president of the University of British Columbia, Leonard S. Klinck, had never been a strong supporter of the Council. When Ney wished to have honorary degrees granted to one or two of the 1929 conference guests, he was forced to turn again to the University of Toronto.[7] Even the enthusiasm of Robert Falconer, the president of the University of Toronto, had waned. He had declined to go to the conference, claiming, ". . . I am very doubtful as to the value of these conferences, and we have done a good deal for the National Council of Education already by helping them out with their lecturers."[8] The Council, which had been created to assist Canadian education, had come to be looked upon as an agency which needed to be supported by educational institutions.

When the Council had been formed it enjoyed the support of many of Canada's leading academics. As The NCE had developed under Ney's leadership, support from Canada's academic community declined. Many university professors became involved with the emerging nationalist movement across the country. Ney's imperialist views were, increasingly, out of step with the views of the more nationalistic professors.

While the Toronto and Montreal conferences had been hosted by the universities in those cities, in British Columbia this was not the case. The provincial department of education provided Ney with office space in the provincial parliament buildings in Victoria to carry out the preparations for the conference. The conference itself was held in the Empress Hotel in Victoria and Vancouver's Hotel Vancouver. This was undoubtedly due, in part, to the lack of facilities at the new University of British Columbia campus. It was also an indication of the growing rift between the NCE and the university community. As well, it revealed the growing Council connection with prominent business interests and individuals such as Edward W. Beatty, the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the company which owned the hotels.

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[6] Such people as Robert Fletcher, George W. Parmalee, Robert Falconer and Henry John Cody were all absent from this conference. Ibid., Letters, Parmalee to Fletcher, March 13, 1929; Fletcher to Parmalee, March 19, 1929.

[7] University of Toronto Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UTA) Falconer Papers, Box 113, Cockshutt File, Letter, H. Cockshutt to Falconer, April 22, 1929.

[8] Ibid., Cody File, Letter, Falconer to Cody, March 13, 1929.

The first three days of the conference were held in Victoria on April 5-7, 1929. Delegates then moved to Vancouver from April 8-15. The conference theme, "Education and Leisure," was of interest to the public as well as to educators, and the eleven days of the conference saw over 40,000 people attend the sessions.[9] In addition, the extensive exhibition of handicrafts by the Canadian Handicraft Guild of British Columbia and the British Institute of Industrial Art which was on display in the Hudson's Bay Company department store in Vancouver attracted a number of interested visitors.[10]

The undoubted star of the conference was Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore, the Indian poet, philosopher and Nobel prize winner, not only impressed local newspapermen to the extent that they carried almost verbatim reports of his talks, he was even given a front-page photograph and story in the Montreal La Presse.[11] His three addresses: "The Philosophy of Leisure," "The Meaning of Art" and "The Teaching of Religion", raised numerous questions about philosophical aspects of the role of leisure in human life. His talks were in the spirit of the 1923 and the 1926 conferences, dealing with underlying questions about the nature of man and his self-realization.

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[9] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3), "Plans for 1932 Triennial Conference," Feb. 9, 1931.

[10] Vancouver Sun, April 6, 1929, p. 16.

In the mind of one delegate, Tagore was one of only two speakers who "really came to grips" with the topic of education and leisure. The other was Sir Charles Robertson, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of Birmingham.[12] Although Robertson's talk was entitled "Leisure and Drama," it ranged over a wide area. As a Scot, he both sympathized with and encouraged Canadian nationalism. Strong local ties, he claimed, would become a "binding cement" rather than a disruptive force. As an example he used Scotland's integration with yet distinct differences from England. Culture, he maintained, was an important element in these local ties - copying others who lived in lands where conditions were different would help no one.[13]

One other speaker took a broad view of Canadian educational and cultural life. J. Campbell McInnis, a Scottish baritone who had been resident in Canada since 1918, spoke with enthusiasm about the French-Canadian folk music and handicraft festivals undertaken by Marius Barbeau and the equally impressive work being done in western Canada by

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[11] Montreal La Presse, April 8, 1929, p. 1.

[12] McGill University Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated McGUA), NCE, 4th Triennial Conference 1923-26, 273, Report, Carleton Stanley to C. F. Martin, April 27, 1929.

[13] C. Robertson, "Leisure and Drama," in S. E. Lang, ed., Education and Leisure (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1930), p. 99.

John Murray Gibbon and Edward W. Beatty of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[14] He also praised the competitive music festivals as a means of assimilating Canada's population.[15] He provided the conference with practical demonstration of his musical abilities and his ideas by directing a group of Canadian women singers in selections of English, Scottish and French songs.

All of the other speakers at the 1929 conference had a much narrower focus. The others all had topics which were concerned with one aspect of leisure, either in theory or in practice. In many respects they were guilty of the same faults which had come under attack following previous conferences. Many Council supporters felt that the ideas presented should be more readily applicable to the Canadian educational scene. This lack of a practical approach need not have been a flaw in the conference, but it was.

Few of the speakers had any experience with or knowledge of Canadian education. The ideas that they were putting forward may not have even been suited to Canada. They were, in effect, suggesting that Canadians do just what Tagore and Robertson had warned them not to do, to adopt certain educational and recreational practices without due consideration as to whether or not they were suited to Canadian needs.

One of these speakers was Robert Jarman,[16] Director of Physical Education of Leeds, England, and lecturer at the University of Leeds. The Winnipeg School Board had asked the NCE to locate an expert to undertake the reorganization of physical education in their schools and to train Winnipeg teachers in new methods of teaching that subject. Ney had been able to recruit Jarman. He had been hired by the Winnipeg School Board for a seven-month period in September, 1928. By the time of the conference he had just completed his contract.

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[14] Campbell McInnis, "Music and Leisure," in Ibid., p. 106.

[15] Ibid., p. 105.

[16] Robert Jarman, "Education and Health," in Ibid., p. 191.

Jarman stressed the importance of physical activities and moral development, and the close relationship between the two. He emphasized the "English" aspects of sportsmanship and its importance in the creation and development of imperial ties. Games, he claimed, were a prime means of character development.

He provided the delegates a glimpse of what he considered to be one of the ideal forms of physical education. Under his direction a group of Victoria and Vancouver school children undertook a demonstration of English and Scandinavian folk dances.[17] He told his listeners:

> I would urge you to give folk dancing - particularly English folk dancing - a prominent place in your physical education scheme, and, further I would urge you to form a branch of the English Folk Dance Society in your own town, where you can meet to dance these delightful dances and so form another link, in a very pleasant manner, between you and England.[18]

Jarman clearly shared Ney's conception of the type of education Canadians needed.

These views were also shared by the other English delegates. Sir Henry Richards, the former Chief Inspector of English schools, described the revival of English folk-games and folk-singing. Sir Aubry Symonds, the permanent secretary of the British Board of

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[17] *Ibid*., p. 185.

[18] *Ibid*., p. 194.

Education stressed the links between "English" sportsmanship, character development and imperial unity. This approach was reinforced by the pro-imperial stand taken by the Australian and New Zealand speakers. The firm implantation of English culture in the "colonies" was their goal.

Although in a different vein, many of the other talks and displays had a similar theme. In keeping with the concern that Ney had long expressed that the cinema should be used for educational purposes, some of the displays were cinematic. Films on ancient Japanese swordsmanship, Japanese girls'physical educational activities adapted from western programmes, the Czechoslovakian sokol organization and its recreational and athletic activities, Indian and Czechoslovakian schools, the German Youth movement and the Italian fascist Dopolovaro movement were shown to appreciative audiences. While Ney did not wish to encourage "foreign" developments in Canada, he was anxious to display to Canadians how effective such programmes could be. The intent was not to have Canadians develop and promote distinctively Canadian organizations and undertakings but rather that Canadian schools and Canadian society in general would adopt and encourage English activities such as those Jarman was stressing, using the methods that the "foreigners" were employing.

Films were themselves a major focus of the conference. Concern was expressed about the demoralizing character of much commercial cinema, ". . . the unsuitability of the foreign film from a national and historical standpoint, and the absence of authoritative control in the interest of education".[19] Strong feelings existed that, unless steps were taken by government to curb the flow of American films into Canada, Canada would be culturally destroyed. Out of this discussion, emerged conference resolutions calling for, admission restriction on foreign films, lifting of excise duties on educational films, government control over film advertising governmental licensing of cinemas and government censorship of films.[20]

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[19] "Diary of the Conference," in Ibid., p. 28.

Just as strong was the concern over the American dominance in the field of radio. The federal government had, in 1928, appointed a Royal Commission to study the question of control of radio broadcasting in Canada, and hearings were being held across the country. J. C. Stobart, the Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), characterized North American radio as mindless and commercial and praised the work of the BBC as ". . . a great instrument of citizenship and culture, supporting the work of schools, colleges, churches, theatres, concert halls, sports grounds and so on."[21]

National control over radio was seen by conference delegates as essential for Canada. One Canadian speaker declared: "A fourth or fifth class state-controlled radio could do better than the presently privately directed companies do."[22] Not only was Britain held up as an example to Canadians, so were the Japanese, a "civilized people" from whom the Canadians, judging from their "barbarous" radio broadcasts, could learn much.[23] The result of this discussion was a motion to organize radio in Canada on the basis of public service.

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[20] See Appendix K for a complete list of resolutions.

[21] J. C. Stobart, "The Radio in Education," in Lang, op. cit., p. 127.

[22] Garnet Gadwin Sedgewick, "A National and Provincial Policy," in ibid., p. 141.

[23] Ibid., p. 139.

The conference was also deeply disturbed by the influence of foreign magazines on Canada. Major Ney screened for the delegates a colour film, which he had made, depicting magazine cover designs and illustrations of crime and degeneracy. He claimed:

> This flood of periodicals, advertising American merchandise and even more strongly, the supreme excellence of American institutions, ideals, achievements, and public men, was bad enough. It was much worse that Canadian youth should read magazines presenting a demoralizing theory of life in which the delights and benefits of an unrestricted "self-expression" were continually inculcated."[24]

The mood of the meeting was distinctly anti-American - to the point that one delegate declared that ". . . much of the programme was taken up with the denunciations of all things American, especially their magazines. . . ."[25] The conference called on the government to check the flood of foreign magazines, and for the NCE to develop a Canadian children's magazine. The conference also called on the NCE executive to approach the federal government to provide subsidies to Canadian universities or scholarships in these institutions to prepare teachers to become qualified to teach physical education and art.

Although concerns were also expressed about the ". . . selection of school books which should emphasise Canadian history, literature and art. . .,"[26] no resolutions were passed on these topics. Neither is there any record of discussion regarding the NCE publication programme which had been underway for the previous five years.

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[24] "Diary of the Conference," in Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[25] McGUA, op. cit., Report, Stanley to Martin, April 27, 1929.

[26] "Diary of the Conference," in Lang, op. cit., p. 7.

The 1929 conference had topics which were vital and pressing, resolutions which in many respects reflected the mood of the country, and an international scope which was unusual for a Canadian educational gathering. At the same time, it was decidedly pro-British, pro-Fascist and anti-American. It was, however, strangely quiescent about the growing tide of "Canadianism" which had occurred in the 1920's. This was a strange combination.

The conference drew strongly varied reactions from observers. Although the lack of American participation was regretted from the floor of the conference[27] and in reports to the home organizations[28] by Canadian delegates, the report which appeared in the American educational journal, School and Society, praised the conference and made no mention of this aspect of it.[29] Although the representatives from other parts of the Empire praised the conference as a means of binding the Empire together, many Canadians found this imperial aspect offensive. One Canadian delegate declared: "I am inclined to feel that, in some cases at least, many people gathered the impression that we were being instructed 'ow we do it over'ome.'"[30] Another delegate interpreted this imperial focus as smacking of "anti-Canadianism". He objected, "On several occasions 'Canadian conditions' were described and condemned by speakers who admitted that they had been in Canada only a few days, by others who had lived in Canada a short time."[31] Even delegates who were not critical of the orientation of the speakers and who felt that excellent addresses were given, felt that the conference was oriented too much to the layman, not to the educators.[32]

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[27] Sedgewick, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

[28] McGUA, op. cit., Report, Stanly to Martin, April 27, 1929; Letter, A. S. Lamb to C. F. Martin, April 30, 1929.

[29] "Education Becomes News," School and Society, XXIX (May 11, 1929), passim.

[30] McGUA, op. cit., Letter, Lamb to Martin, April 30, 1924.

The 1929 conference was, in many ways, indicating the direction in which the NCE would travel in the following years. The resolutions regarding films, magazines, radio, etc., indicate some of these interests, but so do the speakers and the addresses themselves. The thrust of the 1929 meeting was imperial citizenship as opposed to the Canadian citizenship which had been the focus of the Winnipeg conference a decade earlier. This shift brought complaints that the focus should have been more clearly Canadian.[33]

Complaints were also registered about some of the comments made by speakers. Sir Archibald Strong, a professor of English at the University of Adelaide, defended Australia's "white Australia policy" to a Vancouver Board of Trade dinner - a stand that raised some hackles.[34] Stronger objection was raised to the recommendations made by Bruno Roselli for the reordering of Canadian society. Roselli, a representative of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, raised indignation from the Canadian delegates and frosty reaction from local newspapers by his Fascist propagandizing.[35] These pro-racist and pro-Facist tendencies evident in the 1929 conference reappeared in Council activities over the ensuing years.

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[31] Ibid., Stanly to Martin, April 27, 1929.

[32] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(1), Report on 1929 Conference, William Alexander Kerr to University of Alberta, April 18, 1929.

[33] McGUA, op. cit., Lamb to Martin, April 30, 1929.

[34] Vancouver Sun, April 11, 1929, p. 12.

Despite these problems, the people of Victoria and Vancouver were obviously impressed. They turned out in droves to the sessions. Crowds were so large at some of the meetings that school teachers were turned away and complaints arose over the distribution of tickets.[36] Local newspapers gave excellent coverage to the conference, and praised the quality of the addresses.[37] The Vancouver Sun even ran a front-page cartoon map showing moderate Canadians calmly discussing educational problems while Americans engaged in wild political gyrations and Mexicans busied themselves by shooting each other.[38]

In many respects the conference was a success. Like the other conferences it focused attention on vital educational questions and brought speakers of outstanding quality to Victoria and Vancouver where they could be heard by thousands of non-educators. A number of challenging resolutions were passed, giving the Council and its new president, James A. Richardson, definite goals for the next triennial period. It set up four committees to work for governmental control over radio broadcasting, to purify motion pictures, to restrict the entry of undesirable magazines from the United States and to establish a Canadian children's magazine.[39] While the direction of the Council was

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[35] McGUA, op. cit., Stanley to Martin, April 27, 1929.

[36] Vancouver Sun, Letter to the editor, April 17, 1929, p. 8.

[37] E. g., Ibid., editorial, April 10, 1929, p. 8.

[38] Ibid., Cartoon, April 17, 1929, p. 1.

[39] "Education Becomes News," op. cit., p. 615.

changed by the 1929 conference, it laid a groundwork for development in a number of vital areas. In this respect, the meeting was more important than those in Toronto and Montreal had been.

Music, Folkdancing and Drama

The 1920's saw a period of widespread interest in the arts in Canada. The National Council's sponsorship of the Windsor-Westminster Choirs in 1927 was just one in a number of parallel developments which were taking place at that time. The Association of Canadian Clubs, at its 1927 annual conference, voted to sponsor a nationwide tour of Canadian folk music. In 1928 a French-Canadian folksinger, Mme. Jeanne Dusseau, and her accompanist, Miss Gwendolyn Williams, crossed Canada with the assistance of Canadian Clubs, the National Museum of Canada and the Toronto Conservatory of Music.[40] These same groups sponsored a similar tour the following year by Misses Florence Glenn and Gwendolyn Williams with a collection of French, British and Indian songs.[41] In 1929-30, the music department of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company sponsored six cross-Canada concert tours by British and Canadian musicians.[42]

In 1927 an extremely popular French-Canadian Folk Festival was held in Quebec. John Murray Gibbon, the publicity director for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and one of those who helped organize the 1926 NCE conference in Montreal, felt that this should be expanded to include other ethnic groups. As a result, in May 1928, the Manitoba branch of the Canadian Handicraft Guild and the CPR sponsored a New Canadian Folkmusic Festival in Winnipeg. The festival featured handicraft displays, folk songs, folk dances, instrumental numbers, choruses, ballets and orchestral arrangements from fifteen different ethnic groups.[43] Gibbon declared that ". . . the object was to demonstrate to Anglo-Canadians in the West the wealth and charm of the folkmusic brought to Canada by the Continental Europeans."[44]

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[40] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/401(1), Programme Circular.

[41] Ibid, attachment to a letter dated February 5, 1930.

[42] GAA, op. cit., Letter, J. W. Jenkinson to Mrs. R. Smith, October 4, 1929.

It succeeded in doing this. Gibbon cited the example of Rev. Charles W. Gordon, who (using the pseudonym of Ralph Connor) had written a realistic but unflattering picture of Slavs in his novel, The Foreigner. He had seen the Polish dancers at the festival and was reported to have said:

> I want to take off my hat the these Poles - it was one of the most beautiful sights I ever saw. I had always thought of Poles as husky coal-heaver people -- and now here I find them dainty, cultured and refined. They have completely changed my conception of them.[45]

Premier James Gardiner of Saskatchewan was so impressed with the success of the festival that he requested one to be held in Regina the following year. As a result of this 1929 event, Alberta's Premier Brownlee asked the CPR to sponsor one in Calgary in March, 1930.[47] The festivals were hailed both for their value in enriching the cultural heritage of Canada[48] and for their value in assimilating the immigrants into "Canadian culture."[49]

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[43] GAA, Canadian Pacific Railway, New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival, Winnipeg, 1928 [Programme].

[44] J. M. Gibbon, "Music of the People" Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1929, (Toronto: Empire Club Foundation, 1930), p. 283.

[45] Ibid., p. 285.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta (Hereinafter abbreviated PMAA), Premier's Papers, 156.

Although Gibbon and Beatty were both involved with the National Council, the Council was not initially involved with folk festival movement. The tour by Charles Marchand in the 1926-27 season, and that of May Elliot Hobbs the following year, began to move the Council into that field. Jarman's speech at the Vancouver meeting reinforced this move. Following the 1929 conference, this field was expanded and, by 1931, the NCE had taken the place of the CPR in cooperating with the Winnipeg Folk Arts Society in sponsoring a second ethnic folk festival in Winnipeg.[50]

While the Winnipeg local committee was enthusiastic about these ethnic festivals, Ney was more interested in Gibbon's other suggestions. Gibbon had praised the revival of English Country and Morris dances in England. He claimed: "If we are going to keep open the doors of Canada to British immigration and British ideas and British civilization, we are going to have a revival of these old English dances here . . . ."[51] Ney was in agreement with this sentiment and the 1929-30 lectureship series included a tour by Mr. Douglas Kennedy, the Director of the English Folk Dance Society, twelve Morris dancers and three musicians. This was an expensive undertaking and the Council was able to arrange it only with financial support from individuals such as James Richardson and Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett.[52]

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[48] McInnis, op. cit., p. 106.

[49] Gibbon, op. cit., p. 282.

[50] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3), Festival of Folk Songs and Music, Programme, December 20, 1931.

[51] Gibbon, op. cit., p. 281.

Following that successful tour, Ney included a series of lectures and recitals of folk music in the following season. Both Campbell McInnis, who had considerable knowledge of and experience in Canada, and Clive Carey, a British baritone and British folk music expert, crossed Canada for the Council, encouraging the development of an interest in this field. In 1932-33 the demonstrations provided by the Danish gymnastic troupe headed by Neils Bukh included a display of Danish folk dances and folk songs.

This was not the only cultural area in which the National Council had become involved. Dedicated amateurs had given rise to the Canadian Little Theatre Movement following the war. During the 1920's interest in drama spread across Canada. These locally based groups were not strong enough, however, to hold back the growing flood of American theatrical road shows and American movies entering Canada. In the minds of both the Canadian nationalists and the British imperialists, this American invasion was beginning to threaten Canadian culture. Calls arose for the establishment of Canadian theatre which could combat these influences.[53] Individuals such as Ney who were interested in maintaining imperial links wished to strengthen the ties between Britain and Canada by use of touring British dramatic productions.

In the 1928 lecture season, Harry Irvine of the British National Shakespeare Federation addressed Canadians on questions of drama and culture. Two years later the Council obtained the services of Sir Barry Jackson, the founder and director of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. Ney hoped that this visit would help stimulate the Little Theatre Movement in Canada.[54] The tour seemed to meet with a measure of success and, as a result, Little Theatre organizations were established in Montreal and Edmonton.[55]

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[52] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/503(1), Letter, Ney to Wallace, July 31, 1929.

[53] E. g., H. A. Voaden, "National Drama League," Canadian Forum, IX (December, 1928), pp. 105-106.

Despite the economic depression, or perhaps because of it, interest in amateur drama and the Little Theatre Movement continued to grow in Canada. In 1932 Ney not only included Allan Wilkie and Miss Hunter-Watson, two Australian Shakespearean actors, on his lecture circuit, he also arranged for a return of Jackson along with a company of twenty-four British players.

This group toured Canada for three months, performing six different plays. The local committees were not asked to provide any financial guarantees, Jackson himself assumed all costs and was willing to absorb any losses.[56] The troupe played in rural areas as well as in the large centres.[57] The aim of the tour was to challenge the "foreign" monopoly of cinemas over the cultural life of Canadians and, in so doing, to encourage Canadian drama.[58]

While the tour did not provide much of a challenge to the hold that the cinema was gaining over Canadians, it did a great deal to encourage Canadian drama. Ney was enthusiastic about the support that Jackson's tour had received. He circulated a proposal to local committees calling for the establishment of a Canadian Arts League of Service which would continue and expand such tours. He suggested setting up a board, consisting of Barry Jackson, Douglas Kennedy and himself, who would make selections of programmes to be provided.[59] He saw the National Council, through such an agency, assuming the role that ministries of culture or beaux arts played in other countries.[60] The successes of the tours by the Windsor-Westminster Choirs in 1927, the English folk dancers in 1930 and the Birmingham Repertory Company in 1931-32 had given Ney the hope that he had found the key to Canada's imperialization.

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[54] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(1), Letter, Ney to Wallace, October 8, 1929.

[55] Ibid., 3/2/11/5-3(2), "The Little Theatre", mimeo., n.d.

[56] Ibid., 3/2/11/5-3(3), Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 17, 1931.

[57] AQ, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Roy Campbell, December 5, 1932.

[58] U.A.A., loc. cit.

The results were not all that Ney had hoped for. By 1932, Canada had settled into the depths of the "dirty thirties" and few people were willing to embark on the type of cultural undertaking Ney had in mind. A number of local committees indicated that they could not afford such a scheme and would rather concentrate on encouraging local programmes than incur the heavy expenses entailed in putting visiting companies of British performers on tour.[61]

The Council's work in this field was not in vain. The Governor-General of Canada, the Earl of Bessborough, who was the National Council's honorary president, was also very interested in theatre. He liked the idea of a Canadian national drama association. In the fall of 1932, following Jackson's triumphal tour, he called a meeting of representatives of Little Theatre organizations from across Canada to discuss the idea. That meeting decided to hold a Dominion-wide competition for amateur theatre. The purpose of this competition would be the improvement of the quality of Canadian drama and the recognition of outstanding achievement in this field. As a result, in the fall of 1933, the Dominion Drama Festival was born. As a tribute to Barry Jackson's efforts in Canada, a special award was established in his name for the best Canadian play at the festival.

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[59] _Ibid_., 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Ney to E. Stuchbury, December 5, 1932.

[60] _Ibid_., 3/2/11/5-3(5) "Ottawa Reorganization Plan," mimeo., n.d., [1933].

[61] _Ibid_., 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Lilian Watson to Stutchbury, September 30, 1933.

Ney put forward a proposal to build on this arrangement so as to incorporate his ideas as well. He proposed the creation of a Canadian Drama League which would use Hart House in Toronto as a national headquarters. The NCE, he claimed, could assist such a body by obtaining the services of professional producers and directors who could be placed on loan to Little Theatre branches. If no Canadian professionals were available, he said, they could be found in Britain.[62] He saw such an arrangement as being of benefit both to Canada and the Empire.

While nothing came of this suggestion, the Dominion Drama Festival succeeded admirably. Not only were Canadian actors and directors affected, Canadian playwrights were given a decided impetus.[63] Although Ney failed in his attempt to establish any sort of NCE hold over Canadian drama, the Council's efforts were significant in establishing a Canadian presence in the area. The cinema, however, was another matter.

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[62] *Ibid.*, 3/2/11/5-3(2) "The Little Theatre," mimeo., n.d.

[63] Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, *Annual Report of . . . 1936*, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1937.

Films

One of the major topics dealt with at the 1929 conference was the cinema and its impact on culture. Delegates expressed concerns about foreign domination of the industry, the quality of films shown in commercial cinemas, the possible use of film as an educational media and the impact of advertising and the films themselves on young minds. Four different resolutions arose out of this discussion, and the National Council determined to make this a major focus of the 1929-32 triennial period.

By 1929 it was evident that Canada was facing a crisis situation with regard to motion pictures. The industry developed rapidly in the 1920's, with Hollywood becoming the undisputed film capital of the world. Canadians had been slow in getting into the industry. The first full-length feature film made in Canada was released in 1928, just in time to become obsolete with the introduction of "talking-pictures." Most films seen by Canadians, therefore, were foreign films. To make matters worse, vertical integration had struck the film industry in its infancy with production studios purchasing or building cinemas to guarantee outlets for their products.[64] This occurred in Canada as well as the United States, and Canadians were increasingly being subjected to American fare because these American chains excluded British as well as Canadian films. Even where legislation existed requiring theatre chains to show a minimum number of non-American films, the charge was made that bad films were deliberately selected to ensure that rival non-American companies could not compete with Hollywood.[65]

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[64] By 1930 approximately 20 per cent of Canadian cinema were owned by the Famous Players chain. Canada, Department of Labour, Report of the Commission of Combines Investigation Act, Investigation into the Motion Picture Industry in Canada, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931), p. 13.

As an immediate result of the 1929 conference Ney organized a number of film weeks. In the fall of 1929 a collection of educational films from Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia were circulated to the NCE local committees. It was hoped that the content and the artistic merit of these films would, if widely displayed, whet the public appetite for better cinematic fare. The NCE was particularly concerned about the system of "block-booking" which required cinema owners to show a number of bad films in return for receiving the right to show good ones. Ney hoped that a public awareness of the availability of good overseas films would reduce Hollywood's stranglehold over this form of entertainment.[66]

The film week scheme was well received by local committees. Not only were public screenings of these films arranged, in at least one centre secondary school pupils were released from school to see the films.[67] Films had an advantage over lectures in that they could conveniently be taken by local committees into surrounding rural areas as well.[68] As a result of the success of this first film week, it became an annual NCE activity. "Talkies" were shown in larger centres and silent movies were included to be shown in rural areas with older equipment.[69] Films were obtained from around the world and, as word of this undertaking spread, countries from around the world offered the NCE informational films about their nations.[70]

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[65] F. J. Ney, Canada and the Foreign Film (Winnipeg: National Council of Education, [1930]), p. 9.

[66] Ibid., p. 12.

[67] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(2), passim.

[68] Ibid.

Ney also produced a pamphlet for local committees to distribute to film week patrons. The pamphlet, Canada and the Foreign Film, informed Canadians that foreign interests controlled 90 per cent of the programmes shown to Canadian cinema audiences.[71] It urged quotas on foreign films, government ownership of film production and distribution, special cinemas and theatres for children and censorship of films.[72]

Ney had long been convinced of the need to establish a Canadian educational film library. The Council's head office in Winnipeg began to acquire a collection of such films which could be loaned out to local committees.[73] In doing this, the NCE began to compete with private industries which were beginning to market educational films. One of these companies, Associated Screen News, mounted a campaign to sell Eastman educational films to the provincial departments of education.[74] Ney hoped to avoid this open competition by persuading the company to produce educational films for the Council film library. While Ney had, to this point, been successful in talking artists and academics into giving freely of their time and talents, he had less luck in getting this commercial concern to donate its products to his plan.[75] The NCE film library was obliged to rely on films promoting industrial concerns on countries to stock its shelves.

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[69] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Wallace, August 5, 1930.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ney, Canada and the Foreign Film, p. 1. Ney obviously did not characterize British films as foreign.

[72] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[73] Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia (Hereinafter abbreviated PANS), NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, July 5, 1934.

[74] AQ, op. cit., Letter, W. Singleton to W. Percival, January 5, 1931 [sic], (date stamped by the department, January 16, 1932).

Films also became a bone of contention in the operation of NCE lectureships. Local committees began to criticize the very type of lecture Ney was most fond, those illustrated by motion pictures. Complaints arose that commercial cinemas were better equipped and prepared to handle this type of a programme and that the Council should avoid competing with the very businessmen who were supporting it.[76]

Radio

Another major concern of the delegates at the 1929 conference was radio broadcasting. When the National Council had been formed ten years earlier radio had been somewhat of a curiosity. Although the first voice broadcast had been made in 1906, regular broadcasting did not begin until after the Great War. During the next decade the new medium had undergone a phenomenal growth. Many of the Vancouver delegates expressed concerns about the impact it was having on the country.[77]

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[75] Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated CPCA) E. W. Beatty Letter Book, 143, Letter Beatty to Ney, May 31, 1932, p. 319.

[76] PANS, op. cit., December 27, 1934.

[77] Four of the addresses focused on radio and many of the others also mentioned it. See Lang, op. cit., passim.

In the United States a number of high-powered transmitters were in competition for control of the American market. Many of these were centred in the east coast and Great Lakes areas where their electronic signals also blanketed much of central Canada. So pervasive was this influence, in 1925 when a Toronto newspaper ran a "Radio Popularity Ballot" the top seventeen choices were American stations.[78] By the late 1920's, networks of radio stations were being formed in the United States. This, in turn, resulted in the creation of expensive and appealing centralized programming which attracted Canadian as well as American listeners.

Although broadcasting stations had existed in Canada since 1919, there were no Canadian radio networks.[79] Individuals wishing to establish Canadian radio transmitters often found themselves unable to find a broadcasting frequency because of the large number of American stations.[80] Popularity of American network programming led some existing Canadian stations to join American networks in order to broadcast these programmes.[81]

By 1927 both the United States and the United Kingdom had become sufficiently conscious of the promise and the problem posed by this new medium of communication that they introduced legislation to regulate or control it. The Americans opted for a free enterprise or commercial approach, with government control only over allocation of broadcasting frequencies. Britain, on the other hand, opted for a public service concept of broadcasting under government auspices. Until faced by widespread complaints about interference from American broadcasts, the lack of broadcasting in vast areas of Canada and because of objections to advertisement of American products (especially patent medicines), the Canadian government did not move to regulate broadcasting.[82] On December 6, 1928, because of these pressures, the Canadian government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate radio broadcasting in Canada.

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[78] Salutin, "The State or the States", p. 12.

[79] Bruce Raymond, "Radio," in John A. Irving, ed., Mass Media in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 91.

[80] J. D. Belyea, "Radio News and Reviews," The Canadian Magazine, February, 1929, p. 58.

[81] Salutin, op. cit., p. 12.

The commission was headed by Sir John Aird, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and also included Charles A. Bowman, editor of the Ottawa Citizen, and Augustin Frigon, director of Montreal's École Polytechnique. Public hearings were set up at centres across Canada, and nearly three hundred submissions were received from individuals, organizations, businesses and governments.

The Aird commission was just beginning to hold public hearings across Canada when the NCE held its fourth triennial conference in Vancouver. The conference called on Canadians to recognize the educational potential of radio and resolved:

> That in the interests of Canadian national life and culture, it is imperative to proceed at once with the organization of radio broadcasting on a basis of public service, with Dominion and Provincial co-operation.[83]

A month later, while the commission was proceeding with its hearings, the thirteenth National Conference of Canadian Universities in Ottawa passed a similar motion and established a committee to contact the commission.[84]

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[82] Raymond, op. cit., p. 95.

[83] See Appendix K. The report of the Commission gives no indication of having received a brief from the NCE. Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, Report of the Royal Commission . . . (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1929).

The report of the Aird commission, submitted on September 11, 1929, called on the federal government to establish a Canadian federal version of the British concept of public service radio. It called for the creation of a federal government monopoly in radio broadcasting consisting of one national company with separate provincial authorities with full control over operations and programming in that province. It called for nationalization of all existing stations and the establishment of a network of high-power regional transmitters and low-power local supplementary stations.[85]

The report was not greeted by a great wave of enthusiasm. Not only were those with a vested interest in private broadcasting opposed to the recommendations, even the radio column of one of Canada's most nationalistic magazines asked, "What Solon is going to be set up in a high place to determine what the people of Canada shall hear. . .?"[86] Some feared that such a body would reduce the freedoms enjoyed by Canadians, others were suspicious of the commission's motives. E. W. Beatty commented that one of the commission members, Charles Bowman, was

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[84] National Council of Canadian Universities, Proceedings, Thirteenth Conference, Ottawa, May 22-24, 1929. The commission report records no contact from this body either, Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, op. cit.

[85] Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[86] Belyea, "Radio News and Reviews," The Canadian Magazine, October, 1929, p. 40.

> an Englishman of good education and of rather pronounced socialistic tendencies. He is, I think, the real author of the Aird report and he is pressing for its adoption, not because he considers it ideal but because it approaches the English system. . .[87]

Such a comment, from one of the National Council's most loyal supporters, must have come as a blow to Ney who was inclined to feel that way about many aspects of Canadian life.

The implementation of the Aird commission's recommendations was delayed because of federal-provincial jurisdictional questions and by the change in government which resulted from the 1929 federal election. A group of individuals who were concerned about this delay and about pressure being mounted by business interests to shelve the report, formed the Canadian Radio League to encourage support for the commission's recommendations. The League gained the adherence of many of the individuals who had supported the motions passed by the NCE and the NCCU in 1929.

Ney was very attracted to the recommendations of the commission. Not only would the proposed network be patterned after that of England, it offered the possibility of providing most Canadians with the kind of unifying, pro-English education that he had long advocated. He praised the commission report to NCE members and urged local committees to set up radio sub-committees in the hopes of providing a national chain of educational programming which would foster Canadian unity.[88]

There were others in the NCE who were equally excited by the possibilities provided by radio. NCE local committees in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg established radio sub-committees. The Halifax group, under the leadership of Professor C. H. Mercer of Dalhousie University, had been providing programming of an educational nature to Nova Scotian audiences since 1928.[89] Ray Campbell, the full-time secretary of the Montreal local committee, organized a similar effort. Ney praised Campbell's work, claiming that the Montreal local had ". . . made a splendid start on a scheme of educational broadcasting. . . ."[90] Ney saw these activities as ". . . the most promising and encouraging development in the Council's undertakings."[91] He urged all Council locals to follow this lead.

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[87] CPCA, op. cit., 131, Letter, Beatty to Ney, February 17, 1930, p. 108860.

[88] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3 (3), Letter, Ney to Stutchbury, March 30, 1931.

Mercer's broadcasts appear to have included topics such as gardening and agriculture which were of interest to ordinary citizens as well as music and literature which appealed to more educated listeners. Although these programmes began at least three years before those of Montreal, Campbell rather than Mercer was praised for his pioneering efforts. This was probably due to the content of the programmes. Ney did not approve of the popular and practical topics Mercer included but liked Campbell's selections which, according to Ney, " . . .emulated most successfully the best features of the B. B. C.. . . ."[92] Ney was still, first and foremost, dedicated to the creation of a British-Canada.

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[89] PANS, op. cit., passim. These programmes must be distinguished from school broadcasts. In 1923 Nova Scotia embarked on a programme of school broadcasts, the first province to do so. By 1928 these broadcasts were being made on a regular basis. The broadcasts that Mercer made under NCE auspices were more in the nature of adult education.

[90] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3), Letter, Ney to Stutchbury, March 20, 1931.

[91] Ibid.

Mercer, chairman of the Halifax NCE local's radio subcommittee and a member of the Canadian University Conference radio committee, was not, for his part, particularly enthusiastic about his association with the NCE. He felt, however, that it was the only agency available to him to work in the field of radio education.[93] He was also embittered by Ney's fullsome praise of Campbell's work in Montreal when Campbell had, in his opinion, simply copied his ideas and approaches.[94] Furthermore, he expressed concern about a rumor that the NCE had sold out educational radio to Beatty and the CPR.[95]

The National Council was, to say the least, caught in a difficult position on the question of radio. Ney had supported both the resolutions passed by the Vancouver conference and the recommendations of the Aird commission. However, when he attempted to gain the backing of the businessmen who supported the NCE, problems arose. In 1930 the CPR, under Beatty's leadership, had become involved with commercial radio. Beatty was, furthermore, opposed to public ownership.

When Ney approached him to lend support to the Council's drive to have radio controlled by government and dedicated to public service, he replied:

> I did not know, until a short time ago, of the resolution passed at the National Council of Education meeting in Vancouver, and in view of this resolution, which I

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[92] *Ibid.*

[93] McGUA, *Radio: University Committee*, 8/1/63, Letter Mercer to Bovey, November 7, 1932.

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] *Ibid.*

> presume is one of those ill considered pronouncements which so often emanate from intellectual gentlemen with little knowledge of actual conditions, I have been seriously considering whether I should retain my connection with the National Council. It appears inevitable that sooner of later I will have to make a public statement of my views on radio, and it seems inconsistent that I should have these views and still remain an officer of the Council.[96]

Faced with this reaction, Ney backed down. The National Council did not lend its support to the Canadian Radio League,[97] but rather attempted to create an NCE educational radio network by using private stations.[98]

Those universities involved in broadcasting faced the same dilemma. The successful nationwide broadcasts organized by McGill's Wilfred Bovey, received free broadcast services from the stations owned by the CPR.[99] E. A. Corbett, of The University of Alberta's Extension Department, urged Bovey to be cautious in addressing the question of public v s. private ownership of radio so as to

> avoid any propaganda on the radio question. Your talk bears our approval and as C.P.R. and stations have given us every facility without charge or return we feel under deep obligation to them. Besides this broadcast we are getting 5 hours a week free time from main stations here . . and we are anxious not to disturb the situation.[100]

Perhaps the NCE and the NCCU had not "sold out" to Beatty and the CPR but their dependence for funding and for broadcast facilities badly compromised their position.

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[96] CPAC, op. cit., 136, Letter, Beatty to Ney, February 3, 1931.

[97] Graham Spry, personal correspondence, August 19, 1975.

[98] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3), Letter, Ney to Wallace, November 20, 1931.

[99] McGUA, Radio: University Committee I, 8/1/63, Letter, Bovey to Mercer, November 14, 1932.

[100] McGUA, University Broadcasts, 8/1/61, Letter, Corbett to Bovey, October 20, 1931.

These Montreal broadcasts were quite successful. Although originally planned as solely a Canadian universities project, they were undertaken under the auspices of the NCE[101] in order to forestall possible complaints about a national lectureship being dominated by McGill and to enable the broadcasts to take advantage of NCE contacts across the country to provide access to broadcast facilities.[102] The weekly lecture series ran from October, 1931, until March, 1932, and included a number of outstanding speakers.[103]

At the same time that Bovey was organizing a national lecture series, Ney was developing a similar series in Winnipeg. Using stations in Winnipeg, Yorkton, Fleming and Edmonton[104] (all owned by interests opposed to public broadcasting), these programmes were broadcast across the prairies. Ney undertook this project without consulting the Extension Department of the University of Alberta which had been actively involved with radio broadcasting for a number of years using both the University of Alberta's own station, CKUA, and the facilities of other Alberta stations. Not only did this offend E. A. Corbett, it also duplicated the work being done at CKUA.[105]

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[101] This undertaking received substantial financial backing from Ralph W. Ashcroft, the manager of a privately owned radio station in Bowmanville, Ontario. McGUA, Radio: University Committee I, 8/1/63, Letter, Ashcroft to Bovey, August 25, 1931. This station, owned by the Gooderham and Worts distillery, provided good coverage to a large number of prohibition-bound American listeners. See E. Austin Weir, The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada, Toronto: McClellend and Stewart, 1965, pp. 177-79.

[102] McGUA, Radio: Universities Committee I, 8/1/63, Letter, Bovey to Mercer, November 14, 1932.

[103] Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1932, (Toronto: Canadian Review Company Limited, 1933), p. 579.

[104] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3), Letter, Ney to Wallace, November 20, 1931.

Ney's involvement in the field of educational broadcasting also alienated Wilfred Bovey. Bovey did not approve of Ney's practice of asking university professors to lecture without pay, but was even more critical of his practice of failing to give credit to either the professors or their institutions for the work they did for the National Council.[106] When Ney and Campbell approached Bovey to undertake the 1932 National University Radio Lecture Series, he refused to cooperate, insisting that the universities had to maintain their identity.[107] As a result, the 1932 radio lecture series was organized by Ney and Campbell solely under NCE auspices.

By the fall of 1932 it was apparent that in the area of educational broadcasting the National Council was doing the very thing which it had been established to prevent. Its founders, in 1919, had hoped that the Council would act as a catalyst and co-ordinator in the field of education. They hoped that the NCE would reduce competition between educational bodies and would encourage involvement on a broad scale. Bovey expressed much the same sentiment, claiming that the NCE should help the universities, not the other way around.[108] Ney, however, was not content to trust others to undertake the broad re-education which he felt Canadians required.

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[105] McGUA, Radio: University Committee I, 8/1/63, Letter Corbett to Bovey, February 15, 1932.

[106] *Ibid*., Letter, Bovey to Corbett, February 10, 1932.

[107] *Ibid*., Letter, Bovey to Mercer, November 14, 1932.

[108] *Ibid*.

In May, 1932, the radio question came to a head in Canada with the federal government'screation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. Within a year, the CRBC had purchased all of the facilities of the most extensive radio network in Canada, that of the Crown-owned Canadian National Railway Company.[109] By 1933 the CRBC commenced broadcasting. In May, 1932, shortly after the CRBC had been established, the Canadian Universities Conference, which had continued to give unwaivering support to the idea of public broadcasting, set up a committee to advise the new body on educational broadcasting.[110] Ney's dependence on Beatty now proved a hindrance to the NCE. When he requested NCE representation on the universities committee, Roy Campbell was allowed to attend meetings but only as a non-voting observer.[111] When the original committee (Edward A. Corbett of the University of Alberta, Wilfred Bovey of McGill and W. J. Dunlop of the University of Toronto) was expanded, the NCE was not granted full status on the committee. The two new members, C. H. Mercer of Dalhousie and Edouard Monpetite of the University of Montreal, were members of the National Council but were named to represent the universities in the Maritimes and French-Canada - not the NCE.[112]

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[109] Weir, op. cit., pp. 139-141. The CNR had, under Sir Henry Thornton's leadership, established three radio stations, two broadcasting studies and an experienced staff to provide entertainment and information for CNR's rail passengers. Economic constraints brought on by the depression, and political pressures by the CPR on R. B. Bennett's Conservative government forced the CNR to discontinue this service in 1931.

[110] McGUA, Radio: University Committee I, 8/1/63, Letter, Corbett to Hector Charlesworth (CRBC Chairman), October 31, 1932.

[111] Ibid., Letter, Corbett to Bovey, June 14, 1932.

The National Council then approached the CRBC, suggesting that, as the only national educational body, it should handle all educational broadcasting in Canada. The Council was informed by the CRBC that the universities had appointed an advisory committee from which advice was to be taken regarding educational topics.[113] When Campbell complained to Dunlop that the Universities Conference was expanding at the expense of the NCE ". . . a rather grievous argument" ensued. Dunlop declared:

> Worthy and desirable as are the objectives of the National Council of Education I feel that the Universities cannot sit idly by and see a monopoly of Educational Broadcasting handed over to the National Council of Education. . . . I do not see how the Universities in Canada can consent to be servants of the National Council of Education, to do all the work for it, and allow it to take to itself all the prestige that may be involved.[114]

In the financial squeeze brought on by the depression, the publicly financed Canadian universities needed all of the prestige they could get.

With the creation of the CRBC, the National Council began to reap the harvest it had sown following the Vancouver conference. Ney had ignored the conference resolutions and had chosen instead to attempt to gain the favour of individuals such as Beatty and Ashcroft who opposed public service broadcasting. As a result, even when the NCE wished to have the CRBC broadcast talks by some of the outstanding lecturers whom it had engaged, Ney was required to petition the Canadian

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[112] Ibid., Letters, Mercer to Bovey, November 7, 1932; Bovey to Corbett, March 6, 1933.

[113] Ibid., Letter, Bovey to Dunlop, February 6, 1933.

[114] Ibid., Letter, Dunlop to Bovey, February 21, 1933.

Universities Conference Radio Committee for approval.[115]

Although this committee wielded a great deal of influence in educational broadcasting, it does not appear to have attempted to restrict the work of other associations in this field. Programmes prepared by other groups were aired, and meetings were called with representatives of these groups to plan and coordinate broadcasts[116] and to discuss techniques for gaining and holding audience attention.[117] Despite Ney's feeling that the Canadian Universities Conference was working to weaken and supplant the NCE,[118] Bovey saw it in a different light. He claimed, "The Radio Commission, I gather, are still anxious to work with us [the University Committee] and do not want to have the issues confused by working with anyone else."[119] It was, it seems, the CRBC which preferred the arrangement.

The set-up itself was not completely satisfactory. The Universities Radio Committee, at a meeting in June, 1935, reviewed their two years of operation and were very critical of their own performance. The members agreed that there had been a lack of technological knowledge about radio broadcasting on the part of speakers, a lack of coordination of various educational activities and, most serious of all, a lack of public interest in the offerings.[120] These problems were exacerbated by regional rivalries and competition even within the committee itself.[121] Just as the CRBC was an early attempt to provide national broadcasting to Canada, this advisory committee was an early attempt to resolve some of the problems involved in educational broadcasting.

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[115] E. g., UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(5), Letters, Wallace to Ney, November 13, 1933; Isobel Robson to Ney, November 22, 1933; Ney to Wallace, November 23, 1933.

[116] Richardson Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated RA), NCE Files, Letter, C. I. Escott Reid to Campbell, May 9, 1934. Alberta Department of Education, NCE Files, Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 28, 1935.

[117] McGUA, Radio: Universities Committee I, 8/1/64, Letter, Bovey to Dunlop, September 10, 1936.

[118] RA, op. cit., Letter, Charlesworth to Ney, December 5, 1935.

[119] McGUA, Universities Conference II, 8/1/62, Letter, Bovey to Dunlop, April 8, 1935.

Only in Halifax, where the NCE's radio work continued to be handled by C. H. Mercer, was one organization successful in providing a wide range of educational programming. The reason for this success seems to have been due to the fact that Mercer and his committee did not attempt to undertake all of the broadcasts itself. Instead it attempted to co-ordinate programming and co-operated with such groups as Dalhousie University, the Theatre Arts Guild, the International Order of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides.[122] The only other success in educational broadcasting at that time seems to have been the regional and provincial school broadcasts,[123] national broadcasts of interest to specific groups (such as agricultural broadcasts or those of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs) or local broadcasts dealing with specific local topics.

The air waves offered Canada a means of improving the civic life of old and young alike. At the same time, they exposed the country to a more pervasive American influence than had ever existed before. It was evident at the 1929 conference that many Canadians were concerned about the direction of radio broadcasting in Canada. These concerns paralleled those expressed in Winnipeg ten years earlier - a desire to improve Canada by means of education. Radio, many believed, offered Canada the opportunity to assert its distinctive identity. The CRBC and, after 1935, its successor, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, played a rôle in attempting to attain that goal. Canadian talent and Canadian material were encouraged on this public service radio system,[124] and attempts were made to upgrade the quality of broadcasting to distinguish Canadian radio from that in the United States.[125]

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[120] McGUA, Radio: Universities Committee I, 8/1/64, Minutes of Meeting of Canadian Universities Conference Radio Committee, June 25, 1935.

[121] *Ibid.*, Letter, Corbett to Bovey, August 13, 1935.

[122] PANS, NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, passim.

Had Ney been content to pattern NCE radio policies on the approach taken by Mercer in Halifax, or had he recognized the concerns of the universities and their extension departments about institutional integrity, or the desire of depression-pinched professors to receive compensation for services, the National Council may have been successful in its radio work. By following the dictates of E. W. Beatty rather than heeding the 1929 conference, Ney alienated many influential individuals, particularly many of the academics who had previously provided strong support for the Council. Ney's policies also suffered from his attempts to use radio as a means of indoctrinating for imperial causes rather than attempting to identify and deal with the

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[123] See Richard S. Lambert, School Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

[124] Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, Annual Report, 1934, pp. 7-12.

[125] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Annual Report, 1938, p. 10.

concerns of listeners. Perhaps most seriously, in the struggle to utilize radio as an educative force the NCE illustrated that it was not interested solely in acting in a secondary role. Rather than acting as a co-ordinator or catalyst, the NCE attempted to challenge the established institutions, the universities. Such a stand forced people to chose for or against the National Council - in many instances they decided against it.[126]

Magazines

Another area of concern to the delegates of the 1929 Conference was the role played by magazines in shaping the national life of Canada. Delegates reaffirmed their support for the development of a Canadian Boys' and Girls' Magazine and instructed the executive to lobby the federal government to end the "flood" of foreign magazines into Canada.

As ". . . a means of creating public opinion,"[127] the National Council issued a pamphlet, Canada and The Foreign Magazine, in the fall of 1930.[128] The pamphlet was based on a speech given at the Vancouver conference by Sidney Edward Lang, a professor at the University of British Columbia.[129] The tone of the pamphlet was established by the quotation of a newspaper editorial printed on the front cover.

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[126] There is one additional factor which may have played a role in reducing the effectiveness of the NCE in the field of educational broadcasting. Following the successful series of daily half-hour school broadcasts aired by the Montreal local committee of the NCE in the winter of 1930-31, Roy Campbell, the Montreal secretary, was persuaded by the Quebec Radio Trades Association to try and promote the concept of educational broadcasting. As a result, schools were sent advertising material encouraging the purchase of radio sets along with notices of broadcast times and topics for NCE programmes, AQ, op. cit. 2676-1920, Letter, M. A. Chadwick to W. P. Percival, February 17, 1932; Letter, Percival to Chadwick, February 15, 1932; Circular letter to school commissioners, Secretary-Treasurers and Principals of Protestant schools in Quebec from Roy Campbell, October 22, 1931. This link with commercial interests may have discredited the NCE school broadcasts in the eyes of some educators.

[127] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(2), Letter, Ney to Wallace, August 8, 1930.

> Beautiful trees in Canadian forests are being destroyed to provide paper on which is printed in the United States a class of magazine that may be described, none too vividly, as nothing but literary sewage. It is a crime against the virgin Canadian forest to make it a medium for the filth which is produced in the republic and which is introduced into Canada in this detestable form.[130]

While the pamphlet did warn Canadians against taking a ". . . holier-than-thou attitude toward their American neighbours,"[131] its tone was decidedly anti-American. The author decried the fact that for every dollar spent by Canadians on British publications, $250 were spent on those from the United States.[132] While no questions were raised about the content of magazines from England, the author attacked those from the United States because of their lack of moral standards,[133] their constant praise of American heroes,[134] the number of advertisements[135] and the impact of these advertisements in shaping Canadian culture.[136] Having leveled these accusations and presented some facts, the author abruptly stopped, bringing forth no proposals for changes in tax or tariff regulations, censorship laws, support for Canadian publishers or changes in the structure of Canadian education which could alter the situation.

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[128] Sidney Edward Lang, Canada and the Foreign Magazine (Winnipeg: National Council of Education, n.d. [1930]).

[129] The original talk was an introduction to a film and slide presentation prepared by Major Ney for the Conference. "The reproduction on the screen of cover designs, scenes and pictures, showed that killings, thefts, forgery, false swearing, marital infidelity, want, and vice, formed the chief interests of life, as depicted in these [foreign] publications." "Diary of the Conference", in S. E. Lang, ed. Education and Leisure, p. 15.

[130] Vancouver Sun, quoted in Lang, Canada and the Foreign Magazine, front cover.

[131] Lang, Canada and the Foreign Magazine, p. 8.

[132] Ibid., p. 5.

[133] Ibid., p. 17.

[134] Ibid., p. 9.

Major Ney, in his foreward to the pamphlet, went further than the author. While recognizing parental responsibility for monitoring children's reading, he claimed that the government too must share this responsibility. He called on all social institutions to ". . . assure the government of the day that they not merely desire but demand the elimination of all literature, foreign or otherwise, which is salacious and vulgar, and therefore, vitiating to mind and body."[137] He praised the work being done in this area by Mussolini's Fascist government and attacked the "noisy minority" which opposed censorship.[138] His patience in seeking to shape Canadian culture by voluntary means was wearing thin.

Ney was not alone in his opposition to what he saw as objectional periodicals. Those who wrote letters to the letters to the editor columns saw magazines as the custodians of the nation's morals. Strong objections were raised to such things as abbreviated skirts or women smoking. Other writers praised nationalistic articles such as the series of articles and short columns on historical fact which The Canadian Magazine ran in 1934-35.

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[135] Ibid., p. 6.

[136] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[137] Ibid., p. 3.

[138] Ibid.

Ney also had support in his attempts to check the flow of American magazines into Canada. As early as 1926, the Magazine Publishers' Association of Canada had begun to lobby the federal government for tariff protection.[139] The following year, Andrew Maclean, the new editor of The Canadian Magazine, had declared that ". . . the magazine press of the United States is the filthiest the world has ever seen."[140] Faced with this type of pressure and with the onslaught of a worldwide depression, the Hon. R. B. Bennett's new Conservative government imposed a tariff on American publications coming into Canada.

This was not enough to be of much help to the stricken Canadian magazine publishers. Tariffs on the importation of such things as ink and machinery still left them at a disadvantage compared to their American counterparts.[141] What's more, the restrictions on American publications did nothing to improve the quality of Canadian journalism which, in the mind of one reader, provided". . . the same kind of slop the popular American magazines have been giving us for decades."[142]

The National Council could not claim to have influenced directly the directions that magazine publications followed during the

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[139] Public Archives of Canada (Hereinafter abbreviated PAC), Arthur Meighen Papers, series 3, Box 134, Circular to Members of the House of Commons by the Magazine Publishers Association of Canada, March 15, 1926.

[140] The Canadian Magazine, April, 1927, p. 7.

[141] "The Magazine Tariff," The Canadian Magazine, July, 1931, p. 1.

[142] W. E. T., Letter in the "Mr. Editor" column, The Canadian Magazine, September, 1931, p. 3.

1930s. A growing sense of Canadianism was evident in some of the publications at this time. Increasingly, this growing nationalism was beginning to run counter to Ney's desired goal of binding Canada closer to the Empire.

The Council Lectureships

While the Council's attempts to persuade Canadians to read more English magazines did not meet with any great success, the imperial thrust of the lectureship scheme continued unabated. In addition to having many of the speakers from the Vancouver conference complete the lecture circuit, the 1929-30 season also saw visits by Winston Churchill, Viscount L. C. M. S. Amery and Sir Barry Jackson. Following up on the successful choir tour in 1926-27, Ney arranged for a tour by the musicians, singers and dancers of the English Folk Dance Society under the direction of Douglas Kennedy. Other prominent NCE members shared Ney's desire to maintain these British links and continued to support this programme.[143]

During the early 1930's a change was evident in the type of lecturers Ney obtained for the Council. Rabindranath Tagore was the first of a number of speakers from various parts of the Empire. The growing rifts in the Empire were becoming more evident, and Ney hoped to provide Canadians with links to the other areas of it by the NCE lectureships.

Ney also went beyond the Empire in selecting Council lecturers.[144] Fearing the growing influence of the United States, he began to draw on European speakers in an attempt to broaden Canadian horizons in a different direction. Ludwig Meuller, the director of a woman's college in Wuppertal-Barman, Germany; Arnl Palson, the National Librarian of Iceland; Peter Manniche, the founder of the International People's Colleges at Elsinore, Denmark;[145] Niels Bukh, the principal of the People's College at Ollerup, Denmark; and Count Serge Fleury of France all addressed Canadian audiences on the NCE circuit.

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[143] CACP, *op. cit.* 127, Letter, Beatty to Professor H. E. Reilly, May 7, 1929, p. 108860.

Although Ney made little attempt to include outstanding Canadians as part of his lecture tours, some local committees undertook their own local series using local talent. Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax and Calgary locals all held public meetings with addresses by educators and other officials from the community. In some instances local committees even arranged lectures by celebrities from outside Canada.[146]

Local committees also exercised a good measure of control over

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[144] Lowell Thomas, an American, had spoken to Council audiences on three lecture tours in the 1920's but always on topics relating to the Empire. See pp. 337-338.

[145] Manniche was invited as a result of the impression that the College had made on Charles Hamilton of Fort William, Ontario. Hamilton, a member of the Board of Grain Commissioners, had visited Denmark in 1928. It is a measure of the NCE's visibility that Hamilton knew neither the name of the organization nor the location of its headquarters when he wished to arrange the first tour. He had written A. H. Ball, the deputy minister of education in Saskatchewan: "I understand that there is an educational association in Canada with which you are associated which arranges meetings for leaders of educational thought from time to time." Saskatchewan Archives Board, (Hereinafter abbreviated SAB), Overseas Educational League (Hereinafter abbreviated OEL), Letter, Hamilton to Ball, October 24, 1930; Letter Ney to Manniche, December 31, 1930.

[146] E. g., the Vancouver local was able to pursuade Gilbert Keith Chesterton to take time out from his American tour to address an NCE meeting in Vancouver in 1931. UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3) Letter, Ney to Wallace, February 24, 1931.

Ney's national lecture tours as well. Locals voted to accept or reject programmes suggested by Ney and tours were arranged accordingly. While such a plan worked well in theory, in practice it was unworkable in view of Canadian geography, population distribution and transportation facilities. If one of the centres in western Canada refused to accept one of the NCE guests it forced the cancellation of a number of other engagements along that rail line. Unwilling to let one local committee refuse a speaker and spoil the possibilities of others receiving his services, Ney frequently badgered reluctant locals to go along with his plans.[147]

The problem encountered by locals in sponsoring Ney's touring lecturers more often centred around financing or timing (e.g., arriving in small college towns during examination periods or when classes were not in session) rather than the quality of speakers. The host centre was responsible for providing accommodation, lecture facilities and paying the transportation costs to bring the guest from his last engagement. As the economic depression gained momentum, these costs became increasingly difficult for some of the centres to bear.

Edmonton was in a particularly difficult position. Speakers proceeded westward on the Canadian Pacific Railway visiting Brandon, Regina, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat and Calgary. The large centre of Vancouver then paid the heavy cost of transportation to the west coast. On the eastern trip, however, Edmonton faced the cost of bringing the speaker back from Vancouver. As the depression worsened this increasingly became a problem to the Edmonton committee.[148]

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[147] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(1), Letters, Ney to Wallace, October 9, 1929; Wallace to Ney, November 8, 1929; G. F. Trueman to NCE, November 19, 1929. See also PANS, NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, passim.

Faced with such situations, local committees were forced to raise money to pay their share of the costs. Some locals did make use of a system of sustaining memberships to provide working capital for the annual series of lectures.[149] In other centres the charging of admission, either in advance or at the door, became the established practice.[150] Even with such arrangements, however, local committees often lost money on these activities.[151]

In some instances, both at the national level and within the various communities, the Council attempted to reduce costs by sharing speakers with other organizations.[152] While the 1924 agreement with the Canadian Clubs had lapsed, these clubs often made use of NCE guests. This was not always to the liking of some NCE executive members who felt that it was not the Council's purpose to provide lecturers for such groups.[153] One of the problems that the NCE had to face at its planned 1932 triennial conference was that of placing the relationship between the NCE and other bodies interested in obtaining the services of NCE speakers on a more equitable basis.

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[148] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3) Letter, Stuchbury to Ney, December 8, 1931. See also AQ, op. cit., 2676-1920, passim.

[149] Provincial Archives of Manitoba (Hereinafter abbreviated PAM), Campbell Collection, Letter, Edward Anderson to M. J. B. Campbell, October 22, 1932.

[150] PANS, op. cit., passim.

[151] E. g., in 1930 and 1931 the Edmonton local committee hosted seven speakers and lost $119.00 in the process. UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(1), Letter Ney to Wallace, July 31, 1929.

[152] E. g., Viscount Amery addressed Chamber of Commerce meetings on his tour as well as NCE meetings. UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(1), Letter Ney to Wallace, July 31, 1929.

[153] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Ney to Wallace, N.d.

Organization and Re-organization

As a result of the 1929 Vancouver conference there was a change in the NCE executive. James A. Richardson, a Winnipeg financier and former NCE treasurer, took over the presidency from Henry Cockshutt. There is no record of an election having taken place. This was not unusual. After 1926 it appears to have been the practice to fill executive vacancies by appointment rather than by election.[154] It seems probable, therefore, that Richardson was nominated by Ney and the decision "rubber stamped" by other Council members.

Richardson's acceptance of this position marked a definite improvement in the Council. Cockshutt knew little about the organization and seems to have played almost no part in its operation during his presidency. Richardson, on the other hand, had served on the Council executive for three years and was committed to the goals of the organization.[155]

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[154] E. g., The premiers of Ontario and Quebec, Howard Ferguson and Louis-Alexandre Taschereau became members of the NCE executive in 1930 following an invitation for them to serve issued by E. W. Beatty. CACP, op. cit., 131, Letter, Beatty to Ney, January 13, 1930, p. 108860. See Ferguson's comments ten years later (p. 393).

[155] National Council of Education executive in 1930 consisted of:
Lord Willingdon (Honorary President)
E. W. Beatty, (Honorary Vice President)
J. A. Richardson (President)
N. A. Belcourt (Vice President)
G. W. Hutchins (Honorary Treasurer)
F. J. Ney (Executive Secretary)
R. B. Bennett
Randolph Bruce
W. J. Bulman
Howard Ferguson

One problem that he faced was the amount of power which had become lodged in the hands of Major Ney. Ney had served as the executive secretary of the NCE for nearly a decade and, following Massey's retirement, had gained virtual control over it. The nineteen-man executive committee appears to have met very infrequently, with the result that policy and operations were controlled by the president and the executive secretary. Given Cockshutt's disinterest, it is not surprising that the reins of power had fallen into Ney's hands. The economic slump which commenced in 1929 occupied much of Richardson's energy and ensured that Ney retained control over the Council.

One result of this centralization of power can be seen in the changed nature of the Council. The original fifty-member council was intended to represent all segments of society in each province. This body proved unwieldly and had been reduced to an eighteen-member body in 1923. This smaller body, however, was no longer representative of Canadian society. At Ney's suggestion, the members of this group were exclusively political figures, financiers, industrialists, distinguished clergy and military officers. Such individuals were unlikely to favour

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Henry Cockshutt
C. W. Colby
Douglas Hagen
J. M. MacDonnell
D. McGillvary
Vincent Massey
Victor Odlum
Mr. Russell
F. N. Southam
Louis Alexandre Taschereau
Alberta Department of Education, OEL files, stationery letterhead on letter, Ney to Ross, December 24, 1930. In 1931 Lord Willingdon was replaced by his successor, the Earl of Bessborough, and Rev. H. J. Cody replaced Mr. Russell. A. Q., op. cit., 2676-1920, Brochure advertising the speaking tour of Robert Barnett, n.d.

change and were likely to see education in terms of the perpetuation of the status quo.

There was an attempt following the 1929 conference to strengthen the NCE local committees. This appears to have occurred in most centres across the country. In 1929, Robert Charles Wallace, the new president of the University of Alberta, established the Edmonton local committee on a firm footing for the first time.[156] The Toronto local strengthened its position by joining with the Toronto Canadian Club in the appointment of a joint secretary, J. M. Philip.[157] In a similar way, the appointment of Roy Campbell as the full-time secretary of the Montreal local strengthened that group. In centres such as Halifax, Calgary and Yorkton, where the local committees were firmly in the hands of educators, no restructuring was necessary.[158] With this revitalization process and local committee involvement in such activities as radio education and the sponsorship of summer school programmes[159], the triennial period following the Vancouver conference was the high water mark for NCE activity at the local level.

During at least part of this period, the NCE head office moved from Winnipeg to Toronto.[160] There were a number of reasons for this move. Although both Ney and Richardson had their homes in Winnipeg, the majority of the executive members lived in eastern Canada. Ney, involved as he was in travelling with visiting lecturers, was frequently in Toronto and Richardson also made regular and frequent trips there. Meetings in Toronto were, therefore, easier to arrange than they would be in Winnipeg. In addition, the fifth triennial conference was being planned for Toronto in 1932. Such an undertaking could be more easily arranged from a Toronto office than one in Winnipeg. The office in Winnipeg was not closed but was maintained to look after the NCE activities in western Canada.[161] Ney's other operation, The overseas Education League, retained its base in that city as well.

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[156] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(1), passim.

[157] AQ, op. cit., 2676-1920, Letters, Philip to Percival, July 17, 1931; August 25, 1931.

[158] The Halifax local was presided over by Henry F. Munroe, the deputy minister of education. Calgary's president was A. M. Scott, the Superintendent of Schools. In Yorkton, the principal of the Normal school, Ernest Crosthwaite, headed the NCE local committee.

[159] PANS, op. cit., February 5, 1932.

[160] UAA, Wallace Papers 3/2/11/5-3(2), Letter, Ney to Wallace, August 8, 1930. The new NCE address was 224 Bloor Street West, Toronto.

A very close link existed between these two organizations. Ney considered them to be complementary, ". . . the one being largely concerned with the Education Profession and the Educationist, and the other primarily with the general public."[162] The National Council had come a long way from its original purpose of promoting moral and civic education in the schools.

In fact, after 1929, the NCE virtually abandoned its attempts to influence education in the schools. Instead, Ney turned his interest almost exclusively to the field of adult education. In early 1932, in order to consolidate and crystallize the objectives of the Council and to ". . . . approach adult education by the stimulation of public opinion on educational matters and increase interest in a wide range of subjects,"[163] Ney introduced a proposal to reorganize the NCE. The plan was an elaborate operation which required the implementation of all parts in order to be successful.

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[161] The Winnipeg NCE Office (and that of the OEL) moved from the Boyd Building to 411 Power Building in 1931. The president of the local committee of the NCE at that time was E. Anderson, the chairman of the Winnipeg Power Company. UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3), Removal Notice, June 1, 1931.

[162] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(2), Letter, Ney to Wallace, December 20, 1930.

He first of all called for the re-establishment of a General Council, similar in some respects to the one originally established by the Winnipeg conference. This body was to consist of representatives of national organizations, representatives of educational groups and of sustaining members. He also proposed the creation of an Advisory Committee to consist of the chairmen and secretaries of local committees, deputy ministers of education, university presidents, sustaining members and others nominated by the Executive Committee. These two committees would not meet regularly, this task would be undertaken by an Executive Committee to be composed of members from one region of the country who would be able to meet twice per year and guide the Council through the triennial period.[164] Nowhere in his proposals did he outline in detail the size or functions of this vastly expanded superstructure.

What he did spell out in detail were the duties of the new executive positions which he recommended. Instead of having the Executive Secretary as the only full-time Council officer, he suggested the creation of seven Council departments, each to be under the direction of a full-time specialist in the field.[165] These specialists, in the fields of physical education and health, music and speech, drama and dramatic appreciation, art and art appreciation, radio, cinema and visual education, and literature, would form a permanent office staff which would be available to interested communities across Canada.[166]

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[163] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 9, 1932.

[164] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), NCE. "Memorandum on Reorganization and Programme, Memorandum B," attached to Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 27, 1932. Ney also suggested the creation of an Anglo-Canadian Advisory Committee to be based in London and an International Committee of Cooperation based in Montreal. The intended function of these bodies was never clarified.

These national directors would be responsible for

> . . . developing what may be called a community system of Adult Education, based not on classroom methods available to the few, but on an inspirational foundation intended for the many.[167]

The directors themselves were to make up a permanent Council which would be on call to all parts of the dominion.[168] They could help in the establishment of locally based programmes and would be able, as full-time employees, to arrange and coordinate materials for the whole country. Ney suggested that they would each be responsible for providing one speaker to tour the country each winter dealing with their special area. Such an arrangement, Ney predicted, would improve the work of local committees while at the same time reducing the work of those committees by providing a national organizational framework.

This part of the reorganization plan was well organized at the time Ney circulated his memoranda to the local committees. The Ontario Department of Education had agreed to pay half of the salary of the

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[165] Ibid., "Memorandum A."

[166] The numbers and designation of these specialists varied somewhat from proposal to proposal. In some versions there were seven, in some nine and in one, eleven departments.

[167] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4) Letter, Ney to Wallace, June 6, 1932.

[168] AQ, op. cit. 2676-1920, "Memorandum A," May 9, 1935.

Director of Physical Education and Health, provided that the post was filled by Robert Jarman.[169] Ney had already approached Campbell McInnis to serve as Director of Music and Speech[170] and Arthur Lismer to take on responsibility for Art.[171] Detailed job descriptions for each of the directorships had been drawn up indicating what work had been completed and what was still to do. It was a plan with which the Winnipeg committee fifteen years earlier would have been pleased.

As in 1917, the problem was one of supporting such an organization. The third part of Ney's plan addressed itself to the question of finances. At the local level he urged the adoption of a system of sustaining memberships of $5 - $10 annually. Members paying these fees would have seats reserved for them at council activities while leaving other seats open to the public at no charge.[172] The cost of overseas speakers for each local would be between $25-$50, he estimated, and seven big-name speakers annually could be provided for by a membership of three dozen in each centre.

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[169] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), "Memorandum A, March 27, 1932. Jarman had come to Canada with the NCE and was currently employed as the joint Director of Physical Education for the Province of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg. Jarman was interested in the proposed post and by the end of 1935 negotiations were underway to employ him. RA, NCE files, Letters, Jarman to Ney, December 15, 1935; Ney to Richardson, December 19, 1935.

[170] AQ, op. cit., 2676-1920, Memorandum B, May 9, 1935. Eighteen months later Ney again approached McInnis and was incensed because, due to what he saw as NCE inaction, McInnis was working for Dunlop at the University of Toronto. RA, NCE files, Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 18, 1936.

[171] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/4-3(4) "Memorandum A," March 27, 1932.

[172] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Ney to Wallace, June 6, 1932.

As a means of providing funding for the NCE central office, he suggested a similar plan. He proposed the creation of twenty National Council of Education sustaining members each of whom would pay an annual fee of $500 for the privilege.[173] This membership would entitle them to sit on both the General Council and the Advisory Committee. Such a plan would enable the council to meet its estimated $10,000 annual operating budget.

This, however, would not meet the expenses needed for the proposed expanded central office. Encouraged by a Pilgrim Trust grant of £600 annually for five years to the Overseas Education League,[174] Ney decided to attempt to obtain similar funding for a revamped National Council. Rather than the one large foundation which had originally been planned, Ney suggested that each directorship be financed separately.

The Physical Education and Health Department, he estimated, would cost $6,000 annually and he proposed approaching the Sun Life Assurance Company (or a number of insurance companies) to provide this. The Music and Speech Department he estimated at only one third that amount and suggested that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company be asked to provide that. The Drama Department, he said, could be financed by means of a percentage of proceeds from touring companies under Council auspices. The $3,000 needed by the Art Department had, Ney claimed, already been assumed by the Massey Foundation. He was depending on the federal government to provide the $7,500 to finance the Radio Department, private schools the $5,000 for the Cinema, and Rotary Clubs a similar amount for a Literature branch.

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[173] RA, *op. cit.*, Letter, Ney to Hutchins, April 13, 1935. The plan had already proceeded far enough that Sarah T. Warren had already committed her payment.

[174] UAA, *Wallace Papers*, 3/2/11/5-3(4), "Memorandum B, March 27, 1932.

The new plans called for a reorganization of local committees as well. Each local, it was suggested, should have two sets of sub-committees - educational and organizational. The educational sub-committees would parallel the seven proposed directorships at the national level. These sub-committees would have the responsibility for the local implementation of the programmes established by the national director in that field. They would, it was proposed, provide free weekly programmes which would include local speakers and activities as well as films, slides, touring art works, musical, dance and drama troupes and overseas lectures.[175] Such a regular schedule, Ney claimed, would allow optimum use of materials and speakers from NCE headquarters, would increase NCE activity and would reduce work at the local level by spreading responsibility.

The organizational sub-committees at the local level would deal with finances, hospitality, publicity, church cooperation, university co-operation, teachers' organizations and international cooperation.[176] Such a distribution of responsibilities, Ney felt, would reduce the work of the local president, involve more people in Council activities and lighten the load of local committee members by having sub-committees look after only one aspect of the total programme.[177]

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[175] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Ney to Wallace, June 6, 1932.

[176] Ibid., "Memorandum C," March 27, 1932.

[177] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Wallace, June 6, 1932.

Financing at the local level was to be obtained by the establishment of a system of sustaining members. A $10 annual membership would ensure members reserved seats at all NCE functions. Such a scheme, Ney claimed, would allow the local committees to set aside the funds necessary to pay for overseas speakers without placing undue strain on the national organization.

Ney toured nineteen of the twenty NCE local committees in the spring of 1932 promoting this reorganization plan.[178] He recognized that the scheme was too ambitious to be implemented all at once,[179] but hoped that the Council would adopt it and piecemeal implementation could begin even before the next conference.

In some respects the plan which Ney proposed was almost a return to those of the Winnipeg founders of the NCE. Although the focus had shifted from school children to adults, many features were similar to the proposals made fifteen years earlier. All that was needed was the enthusiasm generated at the Winnipeg conference to implement them.

Conference Plans and Financing

Immediately following the Vancouver conference, one delegate prophetically remarked:

> . . . it would seem altogether likely that the Fourth Triennial Conference might well be the last. Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver have all entertained the Conference. What other city in Canada has sufficient resources in population or wealth to maintain such a body in active operation at such high speed for a whole week?[180]

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[178] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 27, 1932.

[179] Ibid., 3/2/11/5-3(5), Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 9, 1932.

Despite this gloomy prediction, by early 1931 plans for the fifth NCE triennial conference were well underway. Toronto had been selected as the site; April 4-13, 1932, as the date; and "Education and Health" as the theme.[181]

Ney planned for this meeting to be even more elaborate than the one held in Vancouver. Invitations were issued to fourteen countries and to a number of organizations both in and out of Canada. Plans were laid to deal with topics such as Mental Hygiene, Worry and Work, and the Speed and Mechanization of Present Day Life. These topics were to be ". . . concerned rather with the principles of education than methods, with the point of view of the layman rather than the professional."[182] Ney planned to have special films commissioned on aspects of the conference theme to stress the importance of health education. He even had arrangements with dramatic and athletic troupes to dramatise and illustrate aspects of the programme.[183]

Financing such an undertaking was undoubtedly a major problem. Ney estimated the cost of mounting such a conference at $30,000.[184] It is indicative of Ney's lack of appreciation for the concerns of the average man that he would have embarked on such an expensive undertaking in the midst of a world-wide economic depression.

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[180] _Ibid_., 3/2/11/5-3(1), Report on 1929 Conference, W. A. Kerr to University of Alberta, April 18, 1929.

[181] _Ibid_., 3/2/11/5-3(3), "Plans for 1932 Triennial Conference," mimeo., Attached to Letter, Ney to Wallace, February 9, 1931.

[182] _Ibid_.

[183] _Ibid_., 3/2/11/5-3(2), NCE, "1930-31 Winter Programme."

[184] RA, _op. cit_., Letter, Ney to Beatty (date not legible).

The Council was a long way from having the $2,000,000 Trust Fund which the founders hoped would be established. The NCE was continuing to operate on annual contributions from wealthy individuals, corporations and foundations. In an attempt to take advantage of the strengthened position of some of the local committees, Ney appealed to them to contribute towards the expenses incurred by the Council headquarters, threatening that activities in some of the smaller centres would have to be discontinued unless more funds were found.[185]

Although not adequate for the plans Ney had for the Council, between 1929 and 1932 sufficient contributions continued to be made to allow the Council to function.[186] In at least some of the centres with NCE locals, annual appeals were made to provide financing.[187] By 1932, corporations, hard hit by the depression and by shareholders concerns about reducing expenditures, were beginning to refuse to make further contributions.

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[185] UAA, *Wallace Papers*, 3/2/11/5-3(2), Letter, Ney to Wallace, August 8, 1930.

[186] Totals are not available, but in 1931 the Massey Foundation contributed $5,000 towards the NCE while contributions from other sources were at least $18,000. PAC, *W. L. Grant Papers*, Letters, Grant to Massey, June 16, 1931; Massey to Grant, June 2, 1931. The T. Eaton Company continued to provide the $500 annual contribution which it had pledged to the Council. T. Eaton Company Limited Archives, *Financial Records*, National Council of Education File, 1930, 1931, 1932.

[187] E. g., in 1930 the Montreal local committee received one contribution of $1500 and nine others of $500 in response to an appeal by E. W. Beatty. The $1500 donation was from Ross H. McMaster, The $500 contributions were from:

Charles Gordon
Thomas Basset MaCauley
John C. Newman
Herbert Molson
Huntly R. Drummond
Percy O. Cowans
Herbert Holt
E. W. Beatty

CACP, *op. cit.*, 131, Letter, Beatty to Campbell, February 13, 1930. A similar appeal the following year brought $500 donations from at least two Council supporters, J. W. McConnell and Herbert Molson, *Ibid*. #139, pp. 119-123. In 1932 another appeal returned eight $500 contributions from:

Percy Cowans
Huntly Drummond
Charles Gordon
Herbert Holt
T. B. Macauley
Ross McMaster
Herbert Molson
J. C. Newman

and nine $100 contributions from:

Ney, who was not personally interested in money, except as a means to furthering his schemes, does not seem to have been aware of the world's financial problems. Not only was he planning a $30,000 conference but he was also pressing for the adoption of a reorganization of the Council which would cost an estimated $38,500 annually.

Despite Ney's claims that the reorganization plans were well received in all centres,[188] others saw things differently. Although the Regina local committee reorganized along the lines suggested, it was agreed that there was not enough money available to make the plan work.[189] President Wallace of the University of Alberta cautioned Ney to concentrate on building strong local committees rather than embarking on costly schemes.[190] Even the members of the NCE executive had reservations about these plans.[191]

Although none of these objections dampened Ney's enthusiasm, the

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George A. Campbell
George H. Duggan
William I. Gear
W. M. Stewart
Smeaton White
E. C. Finlay
Robert J. Magor
Charles Linsay
W. M. Wilson

and a $50 contribution from Arthur B. Wood. R. A., op. cit., mimeo. sheet stamped June 6, 1938, initialled G. W. H. [Hutchins].

[188] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 9, 1932.

[189] SAB, OEL file, Memorandum to Dr. Huff, February 25, 1932.

[190] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Wallace to Ney, April 6, 1932.

[191] CACP, op. cit., 143, Letter, Beatty to Richardson, June 20, 1932, p. 426.

economic reality finally had its effect. To finance the proposed 1932 conference, Ney had approached those whom he felt were most likely to reap the immediate benefits of a campaign to raise the level of health and physical fitness education, the life insurance companies.[192] This request for funding was made to these companies at the same time as the one for an annual contribution of $6,000 to support the proposed new Directorate of Health and Physical Education. To this point, appeals for financial support (at least in the Montreal area) had gone out over the signature of E. W. Beatty. However, due to the depression, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company decided to reduce spending.[193] Beatty could hardly ask the insurance companies to donate $36,000 to a cause to which his company would not give $2,000. Not only did the insurance companies not agree to provide the required funding, all contributions from Montreal ceased.

As a result, the Council's reorganization plans ground to a halt and the 1932 conference was postponed for one year. Richardson, who had agreed to serve a three-year term as president, was forced to remain in office until the conference and election could be held.

Richardson's First Term

The tone of the 1929-32 period had been set by the Vancouver conference. Not only were many of the speeches given pro-British and anti-American, Major Ney revealed a predilection for a highly structured and ordered society. The models that the conference provided were of nostalgic English cultural renaissance movements and of quasi-military physical fitness movements. Many speakers also stressed the need for strong government involvement in the daily affairs of society.

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[192] RA, op. cit., Letter Ney to Beatty, (date not legible).

[193] CACP, op. cit., 143, Letter, Beatty to Ney, April 9, 1932, p. 53.

The conference ignored the growing sense of Canadianism and focused instead on the atrophying imperial links. Canadian pride in achievement which was evident in the Great War and in the drive for autonomy was overlooked and the Council was operated as if these events had never occurred. The result was that Council activities were growing more peripheral to Canadian life. Touring British musicians, dancers and actors were not as vital to Canadians as the Hollywood movies that the NCE was trying to ban. British lecturers continued to attact audiences but six lectures per winter could not have as much influence as a daily bombardment of radio broadcasts from the United States.

Even in the field of broadcasting, where the 1929 conference resolutions put the NCE in the vanguard of Canadian thinking, the Council lost its edge. Ney's dependence on financial backers who were more interested in profit than in defence of national identity led the Council to abandon its support for a distinctively Canadian radio system. This move not only cost the Council some supporters, it put the Council on the "outside" when the CRBC was created.

While the Council had given some support to the preservation and encouragement of ethnic culture by the support of the Winnipeg Folk Arts Festival, Ney was more interested in promoting the adoption of English culture in Canada. Despite the work done by the Council in publishing Gibbon's book of French-Canadian folk songs and in sponsoring Marchand's tour of Canada, no attempt had been made to support or encourage any French-Canadian cultural activities. Neither was there any attempt during the 1929-32 period to include leading English-Canadian speakers and performers on the NCE lecture tour.

Following the 1929 conference, Ney appears to have abandoned the Council's original focus - the school. Although some contacts with school officials were maintained,[194] no efforts were made to provide programmes specifically for children. Nor does there appear to have been any attempt to create the proposed Canadian children's magazine. Ney's focus had shifted to adult education.

In the field of adult education, Ney's programmes often tended to alienate rather than increase support for the Council. His headlong plunge into education by radio alienated E. A. Corbett and others involved in extension work at the University of Alberta. His failure to recognize the worth of C. H. Mercer's work at Dalhousie had a similar effect, and his insistence that the NCE rather than the universities get the credit for lectures given by professors angered W. Bovey at McGill. As a result, the NCE lost the initiative it had in educational broadcasting to the Canadian Universities Conference.

The one area where the Council functioned well was with regard to the lectureship scheme. The Council's lecturers and performers were of high quality and they continued to attract large Canadian audiences. It was to Ney's credit that he was able to persuade these people to donate their time and talents to the NCE.

Despite this success, the Council was still in need of improved funding. Funding of the level required by Ney's plans was difficult to obtain in the midst of a major depression with the result that the triennial conference had to be postponed and reorganization plans shelved.

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[194] E. g., meetings between Ney and officials of the Winnipeg School District are recorded in S. D. Winnipeg, Committee Minute Book, #13, p. A546, January 8, 1931 and p. 625, April 7, 1931.

Ney's conviction in the value of the Council's work was strong enough to allow him to continue in the face of these problems. Convinced of the rightness of his cause, he continued to plan for the next season.

Chapter 8

WITH A WHIMPER

The depression of the 1930's shattered many dreams. Supporters of internationalism and the peace movement saw their hopes die as authoritarian dictatorships and war spread. Nationalists watched their carefully nourished Canadianism wither in the face of increasing Americanism. Imperialist visions of a revived Empire vanished as the remnants of the commercial bonds with Britain dwindled. Businessmen who had prospered in the 'twenties' faced retrenchment or bankruptcy. Unions, not yet supported by the majority of labourers, lacked the strength to protect worker's jobs and obtain living wages for them. Vicious circles of misery spread in widening waves as workers lost their jobs, sales dropped and businesses collapsed.

Under such conditions, survival, not culture, was uppermost in people's minds. Yet it was at this time that the threat to Canada's cultural sovereignty was greatest. Activities and organizations which lacked broad support expired as people struggled to make a living. Conditions in the rural areas favoured a return to the popular recreations of the pioneer era, while the cities came to accept the cheap, mass entertainment which was being produced south of the border. As the depression worsened, more people drifted into the urban centres and Americanization increased.

The National Council of Education was particularly threatened by these developments. As a body dedicated to changing the culture of the masses, it lacked popular support. As a voluntary agency dependent upon contributions from private interests, it was expendable under the economic conditions of the time. As an organization with no government ties, it had no access to the public purse. To continue functioning it needed a large and dedicated body of supporters.

By 1932 Frederick Ney was running the NCE virtually single handedly. He was not one to give up easily. Still dedicated to his imperial ideals, he maintained the Council's pro-British thrust while at the same time attempting to attract a broader base of adherents. He also tried to diversify the Council's efforts by getting back into youth work. These efforts, instead of strengthening the Council, cost it support and hastened its demise.

Muddling Through

The postponement of the 1932 conference was a severe blow to the Council. The triennial conferences had given the NCE a new lease on life every three years by focussing the attention of the country on it. They had also provided the opportunity to elect a new executive. The elections and the planned reorganization had to be postponed.

Despite these setbacks, the Council continued to operate. Although the Council, along with the rest of Canada, was suffering from the effects of the depression, Ney's guidance and leadership kept the body alive.

The NCE lectureship programme received assistance from a number of sources during 1932-33. Frank Dyson, the Astronomer Royal, who was in Canada during the summer of 1932 to observe an eclipse of the sun, gave a number of lectures for the Council in eastern Canada.[1] So did Sir Atul Chattergee who was in Ottawa for the imperial conference and Sir James Irvine, the principal of St. Andrew's University, who was in Toronto for Henry John Cody's installation as Chancellor of the University of Toronto.[2] Such distinguished speakers were a welcome bonus for the penurious Council.

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[1] University of Alberta Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated UAA), Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, L. Watson to E. Stutchbury, September 30, 1932.

In some instances, despite the financial straits of the Council, commitments had already been made, and it was necessary to proceed with rather costly tours. This was the case for Neils Bukh, the principal of the Peoples College at Ollerup, Denmark, and his team of twenty-five gymnasts. Arrangments had already been made for this group to demonstrate songs, dances, exercises and games at the proposed conference. Their tour proceeded despite the organizational and financial problems the Council was encountering.

Other plans, however, had to be changed. Owen Rutter, an explorer and writer on the Far East, was cancelled because of costs.[3] So was a planned composite choir representing the Cathedrals of Winchester, Salisbury, Canterbury, York, Chester and Gloucester.[4]

Despite these problems, the Council continued to function. Requests for speakers came to Ney from locals which had hitherto been cool to the lectureship scheme,[5] requests for specific kinds of speakers were heard,[6] and centres without NCE locals sent in requests for Council lecturers.[7] At least one centre, fearing the collapse of the programme, made provision for talks by local experts.[8] Universities, recognizing the value of such lectures, continued to make their facilities available to NCE speakers without charge.[9] In addition, many devoted local committee members continued to work to obtain the goals which the Council had set - greater awareness on the part of Canadians.[10]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated CPCA), E. W. Beatty Letterbook #134, p. 399, Letter Beatty to F. J. Ney, June 13, 1932.

[5] Robert Charles Wallace, the President of the University of Alberta wrote twice in early 1933 requesting NCE speakers. UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(5), Letters, Wallace to Ney, January 17, 1933, February 2, 1933.

[6] E.g. Saskatchewan requested the return of Peter Manniche Ibid., Letter, Ney to Wallace, April 12, 1933.

Despite the National Council's financial situation, Ney continued to promote the idea of free public lectures supported by a patron system. He had some success in persuading locals to attempt this scheme and by 1933 free public lectures were being held in Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Halifax and Winnipeg.[11] Ney also continued to reject calls from such groups as the Canadian Clubs and the Canadian Institute for International Affairs to combine their efforts. He feared that such a union would destroy the Council's hopes of reaching the masses by means of free public lectures.[12]

These concerns continued throughout the 1930s. At one point Ney declared:

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[7] Richardson Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated RA), NCE files, Copy of letter, Reg. T. Rose, General Secretary of the Lethbridge YMCA to Ney, March 25, 1935.

[8] Winnipeg made this local arrangment. UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Watson to Stutchbury, September 30, 1932.

[9] E.g., see circular letter sent by A. M. Scott, secretary of the Calgary local, to all committee members re Marjorie Gillan's visit on December 15, 1936. It is a vibrant letter urging good attendance at the public lecture. Glenbow Alberta Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated GAA), Women's Canadian Club of Calgary, Circular to all NCE local members, December 7, 1936.

[11] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(5), Ottawa Reorganization Plan, n.d. See also PANS, NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, September 27, 1933.

[12] RA, op. cit., Letters, Beatty to J. E. McPherson, April 12, 1932; McPherson to Beatty, April 18, 1932.

> Just how I am going to finance the winter programme I do not know ....
> ....
> I am up against the fact that these men command large fees in the States - and I've got to get them for free. It isn't easy to persuade men that here lies the path of duty.[13]

He succeeeded, however. Lecturers continued to tour Canada until 1941 when World War II made the importation of further speakers impossible.

The reason for Ney's success in obtaining speakers is summed up by the comment of the Council's final speaker in 1941. Sir Firozkhan Noon, Indian High Commissioner to the United Kindom, credited his trip to Ney ". . . who, in spite of my unwillingness to go to Canada, succeeded after a whole year's effort in persuading me to undertake the Canadian trip . . .".[14] To Ney, the imperial education of Canada was an obligation to which all loyal British subjects should contribute.

One of the most successful undertakings of the Council during the 1930s was the sponsorship of a "Britain Week" in the 1933-34 season. Commencing in Toronto on November 4, 1933, the exhibition consisted of a display of British books, British photographs, films on Britain and a number of distinguished lecturers.[15] The display moved across the country from city to city, spending approximately one week in each centre. Arrangements were made for school children, teachers, normal school and university students and the general public to view the films and displays and to listen to some of the speakers.

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[13] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(5), Letter, Ney to Wallace, April 12, 1933.

[14] Firozkhan Noon, Canada and India (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. v.

[15] Fred J. Ney, Letter to the editor, The Times, August 31, 1933, p. 11.

The NCE also continued the film work that it had commenced after the 1929 conference. Ney had begun the establishment of a library of educational films in Winnipeg shortly after his appointment. Pressures to ensure the success of the lectureship scheme had resulted in little being done to obtain and distribute such films until after the 1929 Conference on Education and Leisure. Not only did this conference reawaken the interest of the Council and educators in motion pictures as a medium of education, it also led foreign countries and commercial interests to recognize the value of an agency such as the NCE for the purposes of distributing films.

As a result, during the early 1920's the National Council of Education became a major distributor of educational films. In some instances lecturers used such films to illustrate talks that they gave, but after the advent of sound movies these were generally replaced by a system of film weeks. A series of films would be rotated amongst the NCE locals where they could be used for high schools, normal schools and the general public.[16] Because no federal or provincial agencies existed to undertake this task, these efforts of the Council met with some measure of success.[17]

The Council continued to function as the major Canadian educational clearinghouse. It continued to play a role in providing instructors for teachers' summer schools,[18] it received and responded to requests from international agencies requesting information on Canadian education,[19] and it also provided display materials on Canadian education for foreign exhibits.[20] Because of the absence of an official, or even semi-official, body to represent Canadian education, these responsibilities were carried out by the National Council.

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[16] UAA, Wallace Papers, passim; School District of Winnipeg, Committee Minute Book XV, 1935, p. A825. Approval granted to have high school and junior high school students view the NCE film, This England.

[17] The Council's financial situation placed a severe limitation on its work in this area. Ney was obliged to depend on using free films with the result that Italian films which were openly propagandistic were shown, to the discredit of the service. See pp. 331-332.

In 1935, to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Overseas Education League, the League and the NCE played host to a visiting party of twelve leading British educators. The tour lasted nearly two months with the local hosts at each major centre treated to an array of lectures dealing with British education. The transportation expenses were met by E. W. Beatty who provided a private railway car for their use throughout the trip.[21] Other costs, such as accommodation, were met by the host centres. These gentlemen lectured to a wide range of social, professional and service clubs during their visit.[22] As a conclusion to their tour, they spoke over a national radio broadcast set-up from Quebec city.[23]

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[18] E.g., Saskatchewan Archives Board (Hereinafter abbreviated SAB), Overseas Education League File, Circular, Spring, 1937, advertising the services of Professor Brian Stanley of the University of Durham.

[19] E.g., Ibid., Letter, Watson to John F. Huff, Saskatchewan Deputy Minister of Education, March 22, 1934. Letter requests copies of documents relating to Saskatchewan Schools for the Intermediate International Institute in the Netherlands.

[20] E.g., Alberta Department of Education (Hereinafter abbreviated ADE), NCE Files, Letters, Ney to G. Fred McNally, April 2, 1936; McNally to Ney, April 20, 1936; Robert Fletcher to McNally, April 29, 1936.

[21] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Gorman, December 29, 1934; Circular letter received April 1, 1935.

[22] See for example, E. Salter Davies' address on October 3, 1935 to the Empire Club, Empire Club of Canada Addresses, 1935 (Toronto: Empire Club Foundation, 1936), pp. 29-41; Alberta Archives, Premiers Papers, 1935, p. 710-717; Canadian Education Association, Proceedings, 1936, p. 60.

Although the NCE had lost the initiative in educational broadcasting, it continued to operate in this area. C. H. Mercer and the Halifax committee continued to provide local educational broadcasts, as did the locals in Montreal and Winnipeg. These broadcasts were not limited to lectures but also included the sponsorship of drama.[24] The interest of the Halifax local in cultural as well as educational broadcasting was strengthened by having a representative from the Halifax Ladies Musical Club on the local committee[25] and by co-operating with the work of the Halifax Theatre Arts Guild.[26]

One of the NCE's touring lecturers, Alfred Zimmern, made such a strong impression on the students at the University of Alberta that they petitioned the Prime Minister to have his talk on world peace broadcast by a trans-Canadian radio network.[27] This led to other similar broadcasts over the government-controlled network by Council speakers. These broadcasts continued throughout the decade.

Besides the energy and enthusiasm displayed by Major Ney, the only other thing that kept the NCE functioning after 1932 was the strength of the local committees. Those in Winnipeg, Calgary and Halifax were particularly active. These committees (and to a lesser extent those in other centres) attempted to keep the Council in operation.

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[23] Visit of the British Directors of Education, n.p.: n.pub., n.d.

[24] PANS, op. cit., September 11, 1933; November 22, 1933.

[25] Ibid., January 5, 1934.

[26] Ibid., September 11, 1933; November 22, 1933.

[27] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(5), Letters, Wallace to Ney, November 13, 1933; Ney to Wallace, November 23, 1933.

They put Ney's reorganizational plans for local committees into effect by establishing eleven different sub-committees.[28] They attempted to provide lectures on a free basis[29] and to raise funds by establishing a system of patrons.[30] The active locals also provided whatever financial assistance they could to the NCE headquarters to keep the organization in operation.[31]

There were, however, too few strong NCE locals, and only a strong central organization could handle the difficulties facing the Council.

Muddles

The Council continued functioning well during the 1932-33 season but began to run into problems shortly before Christmas in 1933. When problems did arise, the cracks that the organization had, until now, successfully papered over were revealed in the glaring light of publicity. Part of the reason for this was that the incident involved a Council lecturer who was both a Canadian and a journalist.

In the summer of 1933 Ney was approached by a Canadian newspaperman, Karl J. Ketchum, who claimed some knowledge of the Soviet Union. Ketchum, the son of a respected Ontario family with ties to the private schools in that province, was the kind of speaker Ney wished to procure. He undertook to revisit Russia to prepare for a lecture tour of Canada during the following winter.

Arrangements appear to have been made in a rather haphazard fashion. Although Ney gave Ketchum £152, he saw this as a temporary loan while Ketchum viewed it as an advance on expenses.[32] When Ketchum arrived in Canada, he brought with him bills totalling £369 which he submitted to the National Council of Education for payment.[33] Ketchum admitted that, while he had no legal claim on the Council, Ney had led him to believe that a contribution would be made.[34]

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[28] PANS, op. cit., May 29, 1935.

[29] Ibid., September 27, 1933.

[30] Ibid., January 5, 1934.

[31] Ibid., March 13, 1941.

Finances were not, however, the only problem. After the Toronto lecture the tour was abruptly called off. Ketchum complained to the press that Ney was attempting to "muzzle" him,[35] to force him to concentrate on the civil war and the famine in Russia, to submit his slides for censorship[36] and to avoid discussing either Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett or Canadian trade with the Soviet Union.[37] Ney denied all of this, claiming in turn that no attempt had been made to restrict Ketchum's freedom to provide high quality lectures.

According to Ney, a number of problems had occurred on the tour. Ketchum's tour had run up high bills at Council expense.[38] His Toronto lecture was a disaster. Ketchum had been drinking and it showed in the talk. The slides were not arranged in any order, many of them were purchased and outdated, and he even admitted to the audience that he did not know what many were of.[39] Ney attempted to solve some of these problems by having Ketchum write out his speech so that it could be typed. Ney and Miss Lilian Watson attempted to arrange the slides in a logical order and made information cards on them so that Ketchum could describe to the viewers what they were seeing.[40]

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[32] RA, op. cit., Letters Ney to George William Hutchins, August 11, 1937; Hutchins to F. L. Pereira, December 15, 1937; Copy of memo, Bolby, Macdonald and Macdougall to Frank Regan, n.d.

[33] Ibid., Copy of statement, F. Regan to Ney, December 22, 1933.

[34] Ibid., Letter, Ketchum to Richardson, January 9, 1934.

[35] Montreal Star, December 19, 1933.

[36] "The National Council of Propaganda," The Canadian Forum, XIV (February, 1934), p. 165.

[37] RA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 27, 1933.

[38] Ibid.

Ketchum had cancelled the tour and gone to his friends in the press. The Council could not counter in kind and, as a result, came out of the episode badly damaged. Although Ketchum claimed that he did not want to blacken the name of the National Council,[41] he continued to press his claims with the support of his colleagues in that section of the Canadian press which was most strongly opposed to Ney's imperial outlook.[42]

Even had Ketchum attempted to win his battle in the courts alone, his chances would have been slim. He went beyond this, however. After cancelling the tour, Ketchum had gone to the Toronto NCE office with a gun, intending to settle accounts with Ney.[43] Three years later, Vincent Massey's wife called on the Montreal City Police to protect her husband who, although no longer associated with the NCE, had received a letter from Ketchum.[44] He even went to the extent of contacting the Governor General, the Honorary President of the NCE, calling for redress.[45] Such behaviour weakened Ketchum's credibility.

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[39] Miss Lilian Watson, personal interview, November 21, 1974.

[40] RA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 27, 1933.

[41] Ibid., Letter, Ketchum to Richardson, January 9, 1934.

[42] Ney was particularly critical of the stand taken by the Toronto Star and the Winnipeg Free Press. Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 27, 1933.

[43] Miss Lilian Watson, personal interview, November 21, 1974.

Although Ketchum's case was a weak one, he continued to pressure the NCE for the next five years. His letters varied from relinquishment of all claims[46] to those demanding amounts varying from £3,000[47] to £10,000.[48] Although no settlement was ever reached, a great deal of damage was done to the NCE's reputation by this controversy.

It also hurt Ney's position within the organization. People associated with the Council were willing to allow Ney to do the work as long as no problems arose. As soon as the dispute with Ketchum arose, they began asking questions. For the first time, Council executive members began to question Ney's ability. Richardson declared:

> I think that Ney is the type of Englishman who is disposed to fawn on people with titles and people of position but is disposed to be arrogant with people whom he feels he is senior to in social position, or people who are in any way under his control.[49]

Richardson was not surprised that Ketchum and Ney did not get along together as he felt that they were very much alike.[50] Such questioning of

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[44] RA, op. cit., Letter, Violet Alvarez to Hutchins, October 24, 1937.

[45] *Ibid.*, Letter, Hutchins to F. L. Pereira, December 15, 1937.

[46] *Ibid.*, Letter, Ketchum to Ney, January 21, 1936.

[47] *Ibid.*, Letter, R. V. Sinclair to Richardson, November 18, 1937.

[48] *Ibid.*, Letter, Ketchum to Dr. Arthur Beauchesne, January 14, 1939.

[49] *Ibid.*, Letter Richardson to Macdonnell, April 23, 1934.

Ney's ability and judgement did not bode well for the Council.

The storm over the Ketchum affair had not abated before the National Council found itself embodied in another brouhaha. Although Ney's "Britain Week" in the fall of 1933 had received favourable response, his "Italy Week" planned for early 1934 was quite another matter. The secretary of the Calgary local informed Ney in December, 1933, that there was opposition in that centre to the proposed programme.[51] Within two weeks the Ottawa local threatened to cancel the programme only to be persuaded to go ahead with it to prevent an international incident.[52] Similar complaints were also raised in Halifax.[53]

Although some favourable comment was made about the displays of books, films, handicrafts and photographs provided by the Italian government and on the five Italians who accompanied the exhibition,[54] most opinion in Canada seemed to support Canadian Forum's suggestion that the NCE should be renamed the National Council of Propaganda.[55] Even more concern was expressed when it was learned that Ney was planning a "Germany Week" for the following season.

Jewish-Canadians were particularly upset that the NCE was being used to promote fascist propaganda.[56] Opponents argued that only

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., Letter, Ney to A. M. Scott, December 21, 1933.

[52] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, January 8, 1934.

[53] Ibid., Letter, Macdonnell to Richardson, April 3, 1934.

[54] E.g. Ibid., Letter, Lieutenant Governor Herbert Bruce to Richardson, January 23, 1934.

[55] "National Council of Propaganda," Canadian Forum, XIV, (February, 1934), p. 165.

supporters of Mussolini's or Hitler's governments could leave those countries[57] and it was suggested that ". . . competent observers from the British Empire or the United States . . . should visit these countries and report their findings."[58] Local committees refused to consider accepting touring Nazi propogandists,[59] and J. M. Macdonnell, one member of the NCE executive, threatened immediate resignation unless Ney's wings were clipped.[60]

Ney disagreed with his critics and stoutly defended his scheme.[61] As pressure mounted, Ney became even more defensive, claiming that Hitler was Germany's only alternative.[62] In the end, faced with an angry reaction across the country, Ney abandoned his plans for "Germany Week."

Such criticism was not enough, however, to have him give up the idea of an international educational conference in Munich in the summer of 1934. The conference, on the topic "The Teaching of Christ and International Goodwill," was attended by 700 British subjects (including a large number of Canadian school teachers and university students visiting Europe under the auspices of the Overseas Education League) and some 8,800 Germans.[63] The brief conference, which followed a special

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[56] RA, op. cit., Letter, Macdonnell to Richardson, April 17, 1934.

[57] Ibid., Letter, E. Anderson to Ney, May 30, 1934.

[58] Ibid., Letter, Macdonnell to Richardson, April 3, 1934.

[59] Ibid., Letter, Anderson to Richardson, May 30, 1934; PANS, NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, March 24, 1934.

[60] RA, op. cit., Letter, Macdonnell to Richardson, April 17, 1934.

[61] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, May 2, 1934.

[62] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Anderson, June 12, 1934.

[63] Archives of Quebec (Hereinafter abbreviated AQ), Department de

presentation of the Oberammergau Passion Play, was primarily a religious undertaking focusing on international co-operation. Ney was extremely pleased with the results and immediately began planning a similar conference on an expanded scale for Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg.[64]

Just as he was about to leave for Canada, he suffered a relapse of his war injuries and was hospitalized in England.[65] During his illness, concerns surfaced again about the NCE's direction. Lilian Watson, Ney's faithful secretary of fourteen years, opposed this renewal of the Munich conference. She pleaded:

> Please, please don't think it is disloyalty on my part when Major Ney is ill, but I know it would be best in the end to take a firm stand.[66]

She related some of the problems she had encountered because of Ney's schemes - particularly his insistence on importing musicians not desired by local committees. Such people had to be paid for by the NCE while their services were made available to other local groups free of charge just to keep them occupied in the centres they were visiting. She was particularly concerned about his scheme regarding the conference:

> From all I hear, and I hear plenty, the Conference did not impress teachers and students at all as Major Ney thinks. They _had_ to attend, it was on the programme, but it was a duty rather than an inspiration.[67]

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l'Instruction publique, National Council of Education, 2757-1920, NCE circular, October 1, 1934.

[64] _Ibid_., Letter, Ney to Walter Pilling Percival, October 1, 1934.

[65] _Ibid_., Memo, Kathleen Garrett (NCE secretary in London), n.d., date stamped, October 26, 1934.

[66] RA, _NCE Files_, Letter, Watson to Hutchins, October 27, 1934. Obviously concerned about Ney's reaction to her stand, she added at the bottom ". . . destroy this letter."

[67] _Ibid_.

Watson, who had spent almost as long with the NCE as Ney, was worried that Ney's schemes could destroy the organization.

> . . . I do think we should urge Major Ney not to proceed with this idea. He gets so carried away with dreams and not facts.[68]

Ney's prolonged illness prevented the feared resurrection of the Munich meeting in Canada but it did nothing to reduce Ney's conviction that the Council's true role should be that of shaping Canadian thought. He was critical of attempts to urge people to think without guiding them or helping them to realize ". . . what they should think."[69] It was becoming increasingly clear to many Canadians that what Ney wished them to think was sort of a British imperialist version of Fascism or Nazism.

Many previously loyal Council supporters were becoming increasingly leery of the Council's direction. Macdonnell questioned whether Ney's politics, which he suspected were ". . . strongly pro-Fascist", were ". . . entirely suitable for Canadian consumption."[70] Vincent Massey, in his resignation from the NCE executive, stated, ". . . of late I have been increasingly disturbed over some aspects of Ney's programmes and the way in which they are carried out."[71] Others called for more balanced presentations which could be achieved by having such events as the "Italy Week" followed by a lecture on dictatorships, using Italy as an example.[72]

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[68] Ibid.

[69] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-5-3(4), Letter, Ney to Wallace, June 6, 1932.

[70] RA, op. cit., Letter, Macdonnell to Richardson, February 10, 1939.

[71] Ibid., Letter, Massey to Richardson, January 11, 1934.

Such criticism did not weaken Ney's convictions. Although the NCE refrained from further German or Italian lectures, the Overseas Education League continued its tours of those countries for Canadian students and teachers. One such tour by a Canadian boys cricket team even took part in a Nazi parade with the Canadian, giving a stiff armed Nazi salute to the reviewing stand.[73] Ney himself continued to support many of the activities of Hitler and Mussolini and, in a speech to the Winnipeg Canadian Club, even defended Hitler's book burnings as a means of taking care of pornographic literature.[74]

Fascism was not the only idea which Ney wished to impress on Canadians. He was accused of propping up Canadian support for British imperialism in India by importing speakers who were opposed to Indian Home Rule.[75] Using such lecturers as Abdullah Yusuf Ali, an Indian educator and civil servant, and Malik Sir Firazkhan Noon, Indian High Commissioner in Great Britain, he hoped to counteract the sympathy which was growing in Canada for Mahatma Ghandi's movement.[76]

Such speakers were not at all popular with the Canadian public, even university audiences were not interested. When Ney wrote to the principal of McGill University, ". . . I can think of no one more likely to interest your students today than Mr. Yusuf Ali. . .", an unsigned

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[72] Ibid., Letter, Alice A. Chown to Richardson, January 11, 1934.

[73] Louise Hill, personal correspondence, May 26, 1975.

[74] Winnipeg Free Press, April 19, 1938.

[75] RA, op. cit., Letter, Alice A. Chown to Richardson, December 3, 1933.

[76] "National Council of Propaganda," Canadian Forum, XIV (February, 1934), p. 165.

notation was written on the letter,

> "For years we have got all these 'popular' lecturers free from the Council anyway, in fact they called up and begged us to take Yusef [sic] Ali free (I presume for the honor of him), but Dean Hendel did not think we wanted that sort. We could not get an audience together for most of these Council lecturers."[77]

Canadians in the 1930's had problems enough of their own to take any great interest in what they felt was a remote part of the British Empire.

Even the cultural items which Ney was able to provide for the Council circuit after the 1932-33 season lacked broad appeal. Lilian Watson, who manned the Winnipeg office during Ney's convalescence following the Munich meeting, complained about Ney's insistence on bringing in musicians and particularly about her difficulties in getting local committees to accept bookings for Patti Price, a South African singer.[78]

More serious were the complaints which arose two years later concerning the tour by Mary Ramsay, a Scottish pianist and Andres Timberg, a Swedish tenor. The Vancouver local committee was so disturbed by the quality of this concert that they all threatened to resign unless the calibre of future programmes was improved. The local president declared that he was relieved that so few tickets had been sold to this inadequate performance.[79] Faced with this, and other complaints, Richardson severely criticized Ney for sponsoring Ramsay and

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[77] McGill University Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated McGUA) National Council of Education, 1935-39, 273, Letter, Ney to Principal of McGill, November 11, 1938.

[78] RA, op. cit., Letter, Watson to Hutchins, October 27, 1934.

[79] Ibid., Letter, C. W. Brazier to Richardson, March 9, 1937.

Timberg, claiming that ". . . the whole thing is a blot on our organization."[80]

Although Richardson wanted Ney to concentrate on bringing outstanding lecturers to Canada and leave touring musicians to other organizations, one more musical group toured Canada for the National Council. In an attempt to placate the Jewish community in Canada, Ney arranged a tour of the Nelsova (Nelson) sisters, the Canadian Trio.[81] The Nelsovas had been child prodigies in their home town of Winnipeg in the early 1920's before moving to London to study music. By 1939 they were established artists in England, having completed successful tours of Africa and Australia. Not only did the Council lose money on the tour, in most centres the audience was embarrassingly small.[82] This was not due to lack of ability. The Nelsovas had received high critical acclaim in England, Australia and South Africa. The problem was that the Council was obviously out of tune with the Canadian people.

The influential Canadians who were supporting Ney's efforts recognized this and attempted to bring him to the same realization. Some members of the NCE executive scrutinized Ney's suggested programmes and discouraged items that they felt were inappropriate.[83] Others openly criticized his choices and demanded improvements in the speakers being provided or the abolition of the scheme.[84] Still others simply ceased to contribute time and/or money to the NCE.[85] Given the financial and organizational state of the National Council, such a situation could not continue.

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[80] Ibid., Letter, Richardson to Ney, March 20, 1937.

[81] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, March 4, 1939.

[82] Ibid., Letter, Hutchins to Income Tax Inspector, April 22, 1939. In Fredericton they attracted a total audience of four, in the Normal School auditorium with a seating capacity of seven hundred. Louise Hill, personal correspondence, November 7, 1974.

[83] E.g., Beatty's reaction to a proposed tour by the players of King's School, Canterbury, CPCA, E. W. Beatty, Letterbooks, 155, p. 174, Beatty to Ney, December 1, 1935; No. 156, p. 68, Beatty to Ney, January 10, 1936.

Problems

One of the most serious problems facing the National Council in the 1930's was that of finances. Between 1928 and 1931 the Council steadily lost money[86] and the executive, the life of which was extended by the cancellation of the 1932 conference, undertook a campaign to raise funds. Waged both at the national and local levels, this campaign succeeded in putting the Council books into the black in 1932 and 1933.[87] In some centres, support was extremely generous,[88] and in still others commitments were made but never fulfilled.[90] In some centres a system of sustaining members was established to keep the local functioning.[91]

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[84] RA, *op. cit.*, Letter, Richardson to Ney, March 20, 1937.

[85] E.g., V. Massey and J. M. Macdonnell. *Ibid.*, Letters, Massey to Richardson, April 10, 1934; Macdonnell to Richardson, February 10, 1939.

[86] *Ibid.*, National Council of Education, Receipts and Expenditure - by years, [1939].

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] E.g. The Montreal local raised $4,950 in 1932. *Ibid.*, Mimeographed sheet stamped June 6, 1938, Initialed G.W.H.

[89] E.g., A fund raising drive in Vancouver in 1933 raised only $145. *Ibid.*, Letter, A. M. Brown to Richardson, November 13, 1934.

[90] E.g., H. J. Cody of Toronto promised to raise $5,000 but was unable to meet this commitment. *Ibid.*, Letter, Ney to Richardson, November 30, 1934.

[91] E.g., Winnipeg and Halifax.

On the national level, a measure of success was attained in obtaining a $5,000 grant from the federal government in 1932.[92]

The Council suffered some serious setbacks during this funding drive. The Massey Foundation, which had been providing a large portion of the Council's financing, withdrew its support in 1933. Although not stated publicly, the reason for this was clear. Vincent Massey had, at the 1926 Montreal conference, indicated his opposition to the use of the Council lectureship programme as a means of teaching or instructing the Canadian public. He rather saw the plan as an exchange of ideas which could benefit both parties.[93] Massey grew increasingly concerned about the direction the Council was taking following his resignation as president. Ney's promotion of imperial Fascism was not something with which Massey wished to be associated and foundation support was withdrawn.[94]

It was unfortunate for the Council that at this time it also began to lose the financial backing of E. W. Beatty. Beatty had had little to do with the actual operation of the Council until 1932. When the planned 1932 Conference failed to materialize, the Council's executive was required to meet and undertake some planning. At this point, Beatty opposed Ney's suggestion for a financial appeal directed at the business and commercial community until the purposes and achievements of the Council were clearly spelled out.[95]

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[92] RA, op. cit., Letter, Richardson to Hon. Edgar N. Rhodes, Minister of Finance, January 15, 1934.

[93] Vincent Massey, Report of the Retiring President (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.)

[94] RA, op. cit., Letter, Massey to Richardson, April 21, 1934.

Ney's elaborate scheme for restructuring the NCE did not satisfy him either - he felt that it created more problems than it solved. Once Beatty began to examine the NCE closely, he became increasingly critical of Ney's operation of it.[96]

By 1932 the economic depression was beginning to take its toll on voluntary agencies such as the Council. Beatty admitted that he had worn out his welcome with "generously disposed Montrealers" by heading campaigns to obtain funds for a range of such bodies.[97] Although he personally continued to provide assistance to the NCE, he refused to mount any more funding drives in Montreal.

These moves by Massey and Beatty were a severe blow to the NCE. The Canadian economic elite was small and closely knit.[98] Financial support of voluntary agencies, such as the NCE, depended upon the patronage of influential members from that elite. Withdrawal of that patronage usually spelled doom to organizations with no other means of financing.

Although some interest was displayed by officials from various departments of education in Ney's plan for Council reorganization, the depths of a depression was a bad time to go to the provinces for financial support. In at least one province, it was decided that the funds requested by the NCE were needed more in other areas of the Department

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[95] CPCA, E. W. Beatty, Letterbook, 142, Beatty to Ney, January 2, 1932.

[96] Ibid., Beatty to Roy Campbell, March 15, 1932.

[97] Ibid., p. 451, Beatty to Macdonnell, November 9, 1932.

[98] See Michael Bliss, A Canadian Millionaire (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), pp. 459-467.

of Education's work.[99] The provinces of Ontario and Manitoba both continued their $1,000 annual grant until the end of 1933[100] but there is no record of its being paid after that.[101]

The Council was successful in attracting some support from the federal treasury in 1932. Hon. Richard B. Bennett's Conservative government was hosting the Imperial Economic Conference in Ottawa that year. Bennett, who took office at age sixty, was more concerned than his Liberal predecessor about the maintenance of imperial links and obviously saw the work of the National Council as one of the ways to achieve this. In 1932 the federal government gave the NCE a grant of $5,000 to assist it in its work.[102] Such assistance was short-lived, however. Faced by the immensity of the depression, the federal government refused to continue the grant in 1934.[103]

In order to keep the Council alive, Richardson personally guaranteed the Council's work up to a maximum of $10,000.[104] The Council's annual expenditures were running at over $15,000,[105] and by the beginning of 1934 the Council's funds were exhausted and a further advance of $2,500 had been granted by Richardson.[106] Some other source of funding had to be found if the NCE hoped to maintain its programmes.

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[99] SAB, Overseas Education League (Hereinafter abbreviated OEL), Memorandum, Letter, A. R. Brown to John S. Huff, February 11, 1932.

[100] RA, op. cit., Memorandum, Hutchins to Richardson, March 2, 1934.

[101] Ibid., National Council of Education, Receipts and Expenditures - by years, [1939].

[102] Ibid., Letter, Richardson to Rhodes, January 15, 1934.

[103] Ibid., Letter, Rhodes to Richardson, February 6, 1934.

[104] Ibid., Letter, Richardson to Rhodes, January 15, 1934.

[105] Ibid., National Council of Education, Receipts and Expenditures - by years, [1939].

One of the real difficulties which the NCE faced in attempting to resolve its financial and organizational problems was the very thing which had kept the Council going - its executive secretary, Frederick Ney. Ney had an undoubted devotion to his cause, a fertile mind and an ability to persuade others to support his undertakings. He had a number of flaws, however, which eventually worked against him and the National Council.

Ney's strength was in his ability to generate ideas, not in organization. He depended on others to complete the plans that he put in motion. One critic complained that he was difficult to work with because he did not ". . . tie up the loose ends."[107] Much of his time was spent travelling in England recruiting speakers, touring Canada with those speakers or guiding one of the many Overseas Education League groups through Europe. As a result, much of the responsibility for tying up loose ends fell on the shoulders of the NCE office staff in Winnipeg. Although Miss McEwen of the NCE and Miss Watson of the OEL were competent, such an arrangement could not continue indefinitely.

Ney's views on the nature of Canadian educational needs also alienated some of those who had once been strong supporters of the

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[106] Ibid., memorandum, Hutchins to Richardson, March 2, 1934.

[107] Ibid., copy of letter, James Ernest McPherson to Beatty, April, 1934.

Council. One of these disaffected NCE members remarked:

> I consider him [Ney] a self-created superior kind of person, who likes to associate with important personages, especially in Great Britain, and whose highest conception of performing a great education service for Canada is to bring out an English intellectual to harangue Canadian audiences.[108]

This criticism, from the Maritimes, reflected the stand taken by people from that region two decades earlier. At least in that region, a type of imperialism which perpetuated the colonial status of Canada was rejected. Although the sense of Canadianism which had been generated by the Great War had paled in the face of the depression, there was no evident inclination among Canadians to see themselves in the same colonial light that they once had.[109] Canadians retained their interest in England, but without the subservience which had previously existed. Canadians were not yet clear on what their new status entailed, but they rejected the negative connotations of being "British subjects" in the old imperial sense.

Ney was also out of touch with Canadian society in other ways. Not only did he admire the work of Hitler and Mussolini, he also opposed the League of Nations. A number of speakers he selected shared this anti-League bias.[110] Many Canadian intellectuals, a group which had once wholeheartedly supported the NCE, favoured the League and its work.

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[108] Ibid., Copy of letter, John Clarence Webster to E. A. Corbett, December 3, 1937.

[109] This was even true among Conservative politicians. See Donald Creighton, Canada's First Century (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 203-04.

[110] RA, op. cit., Letter, Alice A. Chown to Richardson, December 3, 1933.

Ney's stance, therefore, increasingly tended to alienate many in Canadian academic circles. This was a serious blow because the Council was dependent on the cooperation of Canadian universities to keep the lectureship scheme flourishing.

Although the Council was originally designed as a non-partisan body, this also changed over the years. While the Council's supporters still included both Liberals and Conservatives, this openness was not extended to the new parties which emerged during the 1930's. Ney's right wing views made him especially suspicious of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation.[111] This stand must have alienated supporters of that movement as well.[112]

Despite pioneer efforts in educational radio, Ney's abandonment of the concept of public service broadcasting cost the Council the support of the most influential individuals in this field. The National Council's voice was not heard in the creation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1936.

The NCE also lost the lead it had gained in the 1920's and early 1930's in the use of motion pictures in education. Ney's use of foreign propaganda films had discredited the Council and this left a void to be filled by other agencies. In 1939, under the National Film Act, the National Film Board was created to advise on the production and distribution of films. For advice in this latter role this new agency turned not to the NCE but rather to another new group, the National Film Society.[113]

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[111] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 27, 1933.

[112] At least one of the NCE's strong supporters, Frederick Osborne, became a supporter of this new party. Winnipeg Free Press Library, Professor F. Osborne file, typewritten biography.

In a similar way, the public school system, which the Council had been established to serve, was almost totally ignored by Ney. The initial meeting of the NCE in Ottawa in 1920 had addressed itself to a number of vital questions concerning the public schools, including such things as wages, working conditions and the training of teachers. The depression of the 1930's made these topics even more pertinent than ever. Teachers' salaries and working conditions declined sharply during the depression but the NCE gave no indication of concern about this. Some provincial governments took steps to increase the admission requirements to teacher training or to increase the minimum amount of training necessary prior to certification,[114] but these steps were due to attempts by provinces to upgrade their educational systems by taking advantage of the depressed job market, not through any pressure from the NCE which had lost interest in this topic. The school adoption plan by which schools in Ontario adopted Saskatchewan schools and provided them with texts, library books, exercise books and even clothing was organized in 1936 by the Canadian Teachers Federation, not the NCE.[115] Even in the moves by provincial governments to pass legislation recognizing the teaching profession and provincial professional organizations with their goals of improving teaching conditions and salaries for teachers occurred with no help from the NCE.

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[113] ADE, CEA, Meeting of Directors Minutes, 1940-1948, passim.

[114] John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province (Toronto: Published for the Alberta Teachers' Association by University of Toronto Press, 1967, pp. 421-422.

[115] Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, Bulletin, II (March, 1938), p. 2.

Following the 1929 Vancouver Conference, the NCE turned its back on the schools almost completely. Its focus from this point was almost solely that of adult education. It is, then, one of the most serious of Ney's shortcomings that, despite the work the Council did in this area, neither Ney nor the Council was party to the major developments that took place in this field during the 1930s.

Western Canadian Universities had been involved in extension work during the first quarter of the century but during the late 1920's this work became increasingly important. As the prairies became more heavily populated, as transporation and communication improved, as the initial toil of pioneering was completed and as rural organizations such as wheat pools and Women's Institutes were formed, the demand for adult educational programmes increased.

E. A. Corbett, the Director of the University of Alberta's Extension Department, addressed the delegates at the thirteenth National Conference of Canadian Universities on the topic of adult education in 1929, describing the work being done by his department. He declared his belief that it was the responsibility of a provincial university to make provision for the continuing education of all of that province's population.[116] Over the next decade economically hard pressed provincial universities, attempting to make themselves more accessible to the people on whom they were dependent for financing, came increasingly to accept Corbett's ideas.

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[116] E. A. Corbett, "Adult Education," Proceedings of the Thirteenth National Conference of Canadian Universities (Ottawa, May 22-24, 1929), p. 63.

In 1929 the NCE's "National University" was functioning fairly effectively. Well known speakers were touring Canada under Council auspices and were drawing enthusiastic audiences. With an increase in interest on the part of universities and their extension departments in adult education, the time was ripe for the Council to expand and consolidate its position in the field by working with the universities and providing a service to them.

Ney recognized that such a need existed. The outlined plans for the reorganization of the NCE in 1933 declared that several bodies provided lecturers but that there was need for some coordination and integration in order to increase their influence. "The great majority of the public is not touched by the many existing organizations. The minority is lectured to death . . .".[117] Despite the recognition, and despite the work being done in adult education by such diverse groups as Canadian Clubs, Empire Clubs, Y.M.C.A.s, Women's Institutes and Chautauquas, Ney did not feel the need to move rapidly to fill this gap. He was somewhat complacent about the role that the Council was playing:

> It cannot be too often pointed out that not only is the Council a medium of educational and cultural cooperation but it represents a valuable link between official education and the community which can be influenced by means of formalised education only to a very limited extent, representing the field of Adult Education as it is generally understood.[118]

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[117] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(5), Ottawa Reorganization Plan, [1933].

The combination of a depressed economy, Ney's continued illness and the inability of the NCE to complete its reorganization during the early 1930's prevented the Council from fulfilling the coordinating role in adult education which it claimed for itself. Ney's time was taken up in attempts to keep the NCE operating and to secure its reorganization. The Council made no attempt to assist university extension workers to expand their programmes but rather used the universities only as convenient outlets for touring lecturers.

Ney, in fact, was not enthusiastic about the extension approach to adult education. He believed it to be too narrow:

> Public School Education and that [of] the Universities must of necessity be Provincial: Adult Education, however, can be conceived and developed in a national or Dominion-wide basis with a strong bias in favour of the international.[119]

Although the NCE had surrendered its idea of creating national schools, it still aimed at making adult education "as national as possible."[120]

Extension department people, for their part, were not enthralled by Ney's approach to adult education either. Many of them were deeply committed to institutional control over the field and they believed that the universities should take over many of the activities which had previously been carried out by volunteer agencies. As a result, when the University of Toronto hosted a national conference on adult education in May, 1934, neither Ney nor any other official of the National

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid., 3/2/11/503(4), Letter, Ney to Wallace, March 27, 1932.

[120] RA, op. cit., Copy of letter, Ney to Beatty, November 28, 1938.

Council was invited to participate.

This upset a number of NCE supporters and criticism of Ney's leadership arose. The critics claimed that Ney spent too little time attempting to fulfill the intentions of the founders and supporters of the Council. These people felt that, with the work that had been done, the NCE should be in the forefront of adult education.[121] Roy Campbell, the Montreal secretary, wrote Richardson:

> I fear that various organizations such as the League of Nations Society, the Institute of International Affairs, the Association of Canadian Clubs, the Universities Conference, The Council on Child and Family Welfare and the Dunlop Conference are getting into territory which should naturally be occupied by the Council and they are doing this for the simple reason that we are failing to occupy it ourselves.[122]

Initially, Ney was not concerned about not being included at the Toronto meeting. He continued to operate the NCE in the same manner, confident that the Council's contributions in adult education would be recognized by those attending the conference.

The meeting, held on May 22-23, 1934, was a success. Although the conference had been called in the name of the President of the University of Toronto, the man responsible for inviting delegates and chairing the sessions was William J. Dunlop, the head of that university's extension department. Delegates included a number of individuals who had previously been active supporters of the NCE. Funding for the conference was rumored to have come from the Carnegie Corporation through the efforts of Morse A. Cartwright, Director of the American Association for Adult Education.[123]

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[121] Ibid., Copy of letter, McPherson to Campbell, May 9, 1934.

[122] Ibid., Letter, Campbell to Richardson, May 10, 1934.

Out of the session emerged a new national body, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, designed to promote, inform and inspire the adult education movement in Canada. This new body hoped to do for adult education many of the same things that the NCE had set out to do for Canadian education in general in 1920. It intended to serve as a clearinghouse, to develop interest in adult education by publications, radio and conferences, to suggest methods and to improve the work of adult education, to provide for study and research, to undertake experiments and demonstrations and to advise funding bodies and private donors of the status of those applying for grants.[124] Despite the fact that these organizational aims paralleled those of the NCE, and the fact that the NCE had, for a number of years, concentrated on ". . . the organization and development of 'Adult or Community Education' . . . .",[125] Ney did not at first see the CAAE as a threat to the Council.

The supporters of the new body did, however, recognize the potential for problems. The first order of business for the CAAE executive was to consider the relation of the new body with the NCE and to report back to the next annual meeting. Nothing was done until March, 1935, when Dunlop invited Ney to attend a meeting with E. A. Corbett.

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[123] Ibid., Copy of letter, Campbell to Ney, June 30, 1934.

[124] E. A. Corbett, "The Canadian Association for Adult Education," Education Canada, I, (January, February, March, 1946), p. 98.

[125] RA, op. cit., Copy of letter, Ney to Dunlop, February 19, 1936.

Ney's recollection of that meeting was mainly centred around Corbett's attempts to have NCE speakers visit smaller Alberta centres, an incidental comment about a visit to New York and a vague question as to whether he (Ney) ". . . had any objection to Adult Education."[126] Little was done at the meeting to settle any potential problems between the two bodies.

A month later, the meeting of the NCE local in Montreal was the scene of a dispute over the relations between the competing organizations. Colonel Wilfred Bovey, of McGill University, a long time member of the NCE and now a promoter of the CAAE, attempted to put forward the case of the new body. Ney, at last, recognized that the financial support that the CAAE received from the Carnegie Corporation jeopardized the position of the Council.[127]

He clung, however, to the hope that the aims of the two bodies could be reconciled. Ney's views of adult education were different from those of the founders of the CAAE, and he saw no necessary reason why those interested in increasing the work of the universities in the field should conflict with his broader view.[128]

Increasingly, however, actions taken by the CAAE tended to downplay, ignore and restrict the NCE. The CAAE preliminary report stated that the result of the NCE's work in the field of adult education were "... difficult to place one's finger on . . . ."[129] In 1935 a

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[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid., Copy of letter, Ney to Hutchins, April 13, 1935.

[128] Ibid., Copy of letter, Ney to Dunlop, February 19, 1936.

$3,000 survey of adult education in Canada was commissioned. In this survey, undertaken by Peter Sandiford of the University of Toronto, the NCE was ignored altogether.[130] In November, 1935, Colonel Bovey wrote to officials and individuals in all provinces to obtain information on the use of radio in adult educational broadcasting. Despite the NCE's involvment in this field, only Mercer's Halifax operations for the NCE were included in this survey.[131] As a final insult, Dunlop informed Ney, by telephone, that any funding for adult education from the Carnegie Corporation would only be available through the CAAE.[133] Ney strongly objected to this. He wrote to E. W. Beatty:

> The arrangement made would lead me to infer that from now on all Adult Education agencies in Canada are to be financed from New York. Personally, I don't like the idea.[134]

The line between the two organizations was clearly drawn.

In an attempt to combat what he saw as an upstart organization Ney called on Beatty to assist the Council. In the initial stages of the dispute, Beatty supported the older organization. He first approached the NCE's Honorary President, the Earl of Bessborough, Canada's Governor General. Bessborough was asked to support the Council's application to

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[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., Copy of letter, Ney to Hutchins, April 13, 1935.

[131] McGUA, Radio, Adult Education File, 8/1/65, Circular letter, November, 1935.

[132] RA, op. cit., Copy of letter, Ney to Dunlop, February 19, 1936.

[133] Ibid., Copy of letter, Ney to Beatty, November 28, 1938.

[134] Ibid., Copy of letter, Ney to Hutchins, April 13, 1935.

the Carnegie Corporation for $10,000 over three years to finance its adult education activities.[135] Instead of assistance, this request led to questions about Canadian support for the NCE, particularly about the withdrawal of funding by the Massey Foundation.[136]

Despite this, Beatty took the NCE's case directly to the Carnegie Foundation. Mr. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation declared that he did not feel that the National Council of Education would continue to serve the same purpose as it had in the past, indicating his hopes for the work of the CAAE.[137] Although praising the NCE's adult education activities at Dalhousie, he criticized the Council's system of itinerant lecturers, suggesting instead the use of resident scholars[138] (a plan strikingly similar to the original plans of the Winnipeg Committee two decades earlier.) Keppel was disinclined to attempt any sort of rapprochment between the two Canadian organizations on the grounds that it was a domestic matter.[139] The CAAE, under the directorship of E. A. Corbett, in its attempts to preserve the territory it had staked out for itself, also appealed to the Carnegie Corporation for support. Some of the most telling support it received, however, was from individuals who had previously backed the National Council. In addition to Wilfred Bovey, the CAAE was able to gain the adherence of individuals such as

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[135] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, November 30, 1934.

[136] CPCA, E. W. Beatty Letterbook, 150, Letter, Beatty to Ney, December 7, 1934, p. 514.

[137] Ibid., 157, Letter, Beatty to Ney, March 11, 1936, p. 93.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

R. C. Wallace and J. C. Webster, both former executive members of the NCE.[140] Webster was critical of the Council's activities and wished to unite the two bodies. He stated: "It is a shame that generous donors should have their money wasted on Ney's circus tricks."[141] He was particularly skeptical of the value of touring lecturers.

> We do not need super-men to spray audiences with eau-de-Cologne. Our people require to be stripped of their clothes, scrubbed in a bath-tub, and be subjected to this regimen time after time.[142]

Such criticism, combined with evidence of some success on the part of the CAAE, soon gave the new body the upper hand in the competition.

Faced with this situation, Beatty threw his weight behind a move to unite the two bodies.[143] Even the province of Quebec, which had given little support to the NCE since the ill-fated 1926 conference, gave its approval to the suggested merger of the NCE with the CAAE.[144]

Besides the marked difference in philosophy between Ney and the CAAE founders, there was another major reason why the NCE could not contemplate a union of the two groups. This was the problem of the NCE's organization. On paper the National Council had a most impressive organization - in reality it was a hollow shell.

The cancellation of the 1932 Triennial Conference on Education and Health forced the executive chosen at the Vancouver meeting to continue in office. This, in itself, was not necessarily bad, but in the period between 1929 and 1932 Ney's health continued to deteriorate. In February, 1931, Ney was required to spend two months in Carlsbad under a specialist's care, with the result that no meetings of the NCE executive could be held until the end of that year.[145] In the following year he suffered two relapses, one of which detained him in England under doctor's care from the fall of 1932 until the spring of 1933.[146] As a result, the Council drifted, functioning effectively only in those cities with strong local committees. By late 1935, Richardson, concerned about Ney's absence from Canada, suggested that someone in Toronto should take up the presidency of the NCE. He suggested Toronto, realizing that the Council's stock was deteriorating in that city.[147] By 1938, it was evident to Richardson that Ney's absence due to ill health had seriously impaired the Council's functioning.

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[140] RA, op. cit., Letter, Corbett to Richardson, December 14, 1937.

[141] Ibid., Copy of letter, Webster to Corbett, December 3, 1937.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid., Copy of letter, Beatty to Corbett, December 9, 1937; CPCA, E. A. Beatty Letterbook, 179, Letter, Beatty to Richardson, January 27, 1939, p. 299.

[144] RA, op. cit., Letter, Jean Bruchesi to Richardson, March 20, 1939.

The controversies in which the Council become embroiled also impeded its functioning. To complicate matters, Ney's reaction to any criticism of the Council's activities was a threat of resignation.[148] While this would not have distressed a number of the NCE's executive members, Richardson was convinced that Ney was doing valuable work. While recognizing Ney's shortcomings,[149] Richardson felt that he should be allowed to continue his work. He claimed that Ney was ". . . not an easy man to handle and unless he is given a good deal of latitude his usefulness would be entirely destroyed."[150] Ney's behaviour, then, was aided and abetted by Richardson.

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[145] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(3), Letter, Ney to Wallace, February 9, 1931.

[146] AQ, Department de l'Instruction publique, 2676/20, Letter, Ney to Percival, December 5, 1932.

[147] RA, op. cit., Letter, Richardson to Beatty, November 18, 1935.

[148] Ibid., Letters, Ney to Richardson, December 1, 1935; April 5, 1937.

Ney, for his part, was disappointed and discouraged by the lack of support he received from other NCE members.[151] He complained about the existence on the executive of ". . . a number of men whose interest was almost nil, and who throughout a period of six years have done nothing whatever to justify their place among us."[152] What they did not mention was that because, of the changes which he had implemented in the NCE constitution, these individuals were on the Council not because of their interest but because of the positions they held in society.

Ney recognized that another conference had to be held to enable a new Council and executive to be chosen. Every year the question of the next conference was broached with the members of the executive.[153] The problem was one of financing such a conference. One of the requests made to the Carnegie Foundation was one to finance a Conference on Education and Health.[154] The request included a detailed, four-page outline of proposed topics, proposed delegates and a rationale for the meeting.[155] It was turned down.

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[149] These shortcomings, Richardson admitted, were ". . . too numerous to mention." Ibid., Letter, Richardson to Macdonnell, April 23, 1934.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935.

[152] Ibid.

[153] See, for example, ibid., Letters, Ney to Beatty, December 12, 1934; Ney to Richardson, May 20, 1935; Ney to Richardson, February 19, 1936.

This conference was never held and, as a result, the elections which should have taken place in 1932 were never held either. The NCE's continued existence depended on a grass roots reorganization which Ney attempted to persuade local committees to undertake.

The Rediscovery of Youth

The response of local committees to Ney's proposals for reorganization was not overwhelming. Most committees felt that Ney's plans were too elaborate, especially since the crucial central organization was going to remain unchanged. The Halifax local committee decided that they could not reorganize along the suggested lines but would form special committees as the occasion required.[156] The Winnipeg Committee refused to "conform", and Ney requested that Richardson bring pressure to bear on them.[157] Rather ironically, Ney claimed:

> They [the Winnipeg Committee] have lost touch with the educational people - and added zest to those advocating the new organization on Adult Education. Smith from the University must be brought in and Fletcher's interest be kindled. The present executive is too much 'We' - excellent from a business point of view but not from the broader, national aspect.[158]

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[154] CPCA, E. W. Beatty Letterbook, 157, Letter, Beatty to Ney, March 11, 1936.

[155] RA, op. cit., "Preliminary Statement of the Fifth Triennial Conference on Education and Health to be held at October 18th-27th, 1936," mimeo.

[156] PANS, NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, June 15, 1934.

[157] RA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Richardson, May 20, 1935.

[158] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, April 13, 1935.

Ney, whose actions had led to the virtual exclusion of educators from the Council, was reaping the results.

The most negative response of all came from the Edmonton local committee. Edmonton informed Ney that they were not reorganizing along his suggested lines, that his proposal increased overlap and duplication, that the University of Alberta had a well functioning extension department which dealt with many of the fields that Ney was proposing that the NCE should deal with and that the NCE should reduce its role to that of providing Commonwealth contacts for local committees to take advantage of if they wished.[159] Two years later, when Ney again attempted to put pressure on the Edmonton committee to reorganize, the local wrote a scathing letter criticizing Ney's lack of communication, complaining of errors in circulated material, demanding the right as a local committee to chose only those parts of national programmes which they felt suited Edmonton and insisting on the right to chose their own local officers.[160] Both parties were wed to particular points of view which prevented them from understanding the other's perspective. Ney seemed totally lacking in appreciation of the needs of the local committee, while the Edmonton committee (and, to some extent, other locals as well) seemed more narrowly interested in their own centre than they were in the development of national culture or a national body.

In early 1936 a news story outlined a considerably modified version of Ney's reorganization scheme. Ney announced the establishment of nine committees at both the national and the local levels. Each of these national committees was to have an annual budget of $1,000.[161] The report went on to declare that this arrangement had been made possible by the generosity of James Richardson and Sir Edward Beatty. The nine national committees, the story stated, would be composed of the chairmen of the local committees in each of the nine fields. The declaration reiterated the Council's organizational aims of functioning as a national clearinghouse for education, of acting as a medium of intellectual exchange with Britain, of emphasizing British ideals in education, literature and government service, and of keeping Canada in touch with ideas and developments in other countries.[162]

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[159] Ibid., Letter, Wallace to Ney, December 28, 1935.

[160] UAA, President's files, 68-1-23, Letter, Stuchbury to Ney, May 23, 1938. Both the Edmonton committee and Ney had changed their position from the one that they had taken previously. See pp. 180-182.

This proposal was a more workable plan than its predecessor, but it suffered from a number of drawbacks. First, there was the problem of the rejection, by both the local committees and the NCE's financial backers, of Ney's grandiose reorganization scheme four years earlier. They would be suspicious of any new plan. Secondly, the revamped body was no longer alone in the field. By 1936 the Canadian Association for Adult Education, under the capable leadership of Corbett and with financial backing from major universities and the Carnegie Foundation, was already functioning in many of the areas to which the NCE laid claim. Thirdly, although the news story claimed that the Council had assurances covering the $9,000 annual budget for three years, there is no evidence that either Richardson or Beatty had made any such commitment.[163]

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[161] Winnipeg Free Press, April 17, 1936.

[162] Ibid.

[163] It is possible that this was an error in the news story. In the light of Ney's future work on this plan (see p.390) and in light of his normal *modus operandi*, it is likely that Ney was vague about the hoped for sources of funding but mentioned the contributions of Richardson and Beatty to 1936.

Fourthly, the plan seems to have been Ney's alone. No consultation appears to have taken place with any of the other Council executive members. Ney spent the next five years attempting to have this plan accepted by the Council.

The tour of Canada by twelve British educators in 1935 involved the Council in another new undertaking. As a result of this tour, which marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Overseas Education League, the Pilgrim Trust in Britain established a fund to assist twenty-five educational administrators from Canada to tour Great Britain.[164] Ney was given the responsibility of selecting the delegates.

He invited each provincial department of education to nominate one member (except for Ontario and Quebec which were allowed two each). Newfoundland was also granted one delegate and ten places were alloted to Superintendents and Normal School Principals.[165] These twenty-two delegates had their eight-week tour arranged so that they were in London for the coronation of King George VI.[166]

Although only twelve Canadians took advantage of this trip,[167] the success of the venture encouraged Ney to expand the NCE's operations into a field which until then had been the sole preserve of the Overseas Education League. He proposed a similar visit for the Ministers of Education in the summer of 1939.[168] He appeared to feel that this type of tour should become a mandatory annual event, claiming:

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[164] SAB, *OEL*, Letter, Ney to John Henry McKechnie, March 24, 1936.

[165] AQ, *op. cit.*, Letter, Ney to Cyrille F. Delage, April 9, 1936.

[166] *Ibid.*, Letter, Ney to Delage, July 9, 1936.

[167] *The Foundations and Achievements of the National Council of Education of Canada* (N.p.: n. pub., n.d.), p. 25.

[168] ADE, *NCE files*, Letter, Ney to Hon. William Aberhart, February 10, 1939.

> All Western Deputies agree 1940 should be their year for England. If, therefore, we can get the ministers to go this year, there should be some hope of our earlier plans materializing.[169]

There is no indication that he had any great support for such an undertaking. In response to a letter asking for confirmation of travel plans,[170] Ney received a curt reply indicating that Premier Aberhart had no intention of going to Europe with the NCE and that, due to the Canada-Newfoundland Education Association meeting being held in Victoria in the summer of 1940, it would be impossible for the western deputy-ministers to go to Europe then either.[171] Ney's purposes for the NCE became increasingly cloudy. Despite numerous criticisms of his activities, Ney continued to function in an assured, almost authoritarian manner, confident that his aims were shared by most people.

Ney was more successful in another undertaking which developed out of the coronation tours. In 1936 Ney proposed that a Coronation Fund be established to provide scholarships to enable young Canadians to visit Great Britain. Beatty was persuaded to take the proposal to King George VI for his approval.[172] Once this was obtained, Ney, Beatty and Sir Edward Peacock, a Canadian resident in England, were responsible for establishing the scholarship fund. The idea caught on among imperially minded contributors and three hundred and thirty high school students visited London in May, 1937, under NCE auspices.[173] Ney arranged for a Rally of Empire Youth to be held in Albert Hall on May 18th to be addressed by Lord Baldwin, the British Prime Minister. Ney also arranged for religious services to be held in Westminster Abbey, Westminster Cathedral and the London Central Synagogue on the following day. Nearly 10,000 students from all parts of the Empire attended these activities.[174]

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[169] Ibid., OEL files, Letter, Ney to G. Fred McNally, February 10, 1939.

[170] Ibid., NCE files, Letter, Ney to McNally, June 9, 1939.

[171] Ibid., NCE files, Letter, McNally to Ney, June 16, 1939.

[172] CACP, E. W. Beatty Letterbook, 159, Beatty to Ney, July 3, 1936.

This undertaking was so successful that Ney decided to establish a permanent young peoples organization. To some extent, the foundations for such a body had already been established by the work that the Overseas Education League had been doing for a number of years. The youth tours that the OEL had originally operated for Canadian school children had been expanded to allow European and Commonwealth students to visit England too. These tours included visits to English schools and English homes.[175] Under Ney's new Empire Youth Movement, this was continued and expanded to include bringing students to Canada as well. In 1938, 100 boys from Australia, New Zealand and England visited Canada, a visit which included a camping trip near Banff.[176] In 1939 this programme was extended and, in addition, arrangements were made to have a number of the boys touring England spend a week on an English battleship.[177]

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[173] National Council of Education of Canada: A Dominion-Wide Organization for Intellectual and Cultural Co-operation (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.).

[174] Ibid.

[175] Winnipeg Free Press, June 9, 1937.

[176] Calgary Herald, January 25, 1939, p. 10.

Such developments did not go unchallenged. At least one Canadian educator criticized the visit of Canadian schoolboys to the British fleet. He saw the plan as an attempt by ". . . the British Admiralty to secure recruits for the British Navy from Saskatchewan schools . . .".[178] Such apprehensions were not limited to small town high school principals. The secretary to the NCE's honorary president, the Governor General, admitted having ". . . a certain amount of apprehension over these Movements."[179] He suggested that the NCE would do better to return to its original intent and to support the Boy Scout Movement. The Edmonton local committee of the NCE decided against any involvement with the Empire Youth Movement. The Edmonton members asserted the right to exercise their own judgement as to what activities the local should become involved.[180] Even Richardson felt that the NCE's true function involved adult education and criticized Ney's concentration on the Empire Youth Movement.[181]

Ney rejected such criticism. He maintained that this new youth group was giving the NCE a new lease on life. The publicity generated by the Empire Youth Movement, he said, would strengthen the NCE's hand when corporations were approached to provide funding.

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[178] SAB, NCE, Letter, Arthur H. G. Mitchell to McKechnie, October 15, 1938. These fears were not unfounded. After the outbreak of the war Ney reported that "A number of these boys have joined the Navy either in Canada or Great Britain. . ." A Brief Statement on Activities During 1939 Together With Some Notes on the Programme For 1940 (n.p.: Offices of the National Council of Education of Canada, n.d.).

[179] RA, NCE files, Copy of letter, Arthur Shuldman Redfern to Beatty, February 14, 1938.

[180] UAA, President's Paper, 68-1-12, Letter, Stutchbury to Ney, May 23, 1938.

[181] RA, NCE files, Letter, Ney to Hutchins, March 4, 1939.

In at least one way the new movement focussed the attention of Canada on an NCE activity. Ney was able to have May 15, 1937 declared Empire Youth Sunday and to have the special services from Westminster Abbey and Westminster Cathedral broadcast across Canada.[182] May 15, 1938, was similarly dedicated. In cooperation with the Winnipeg School Board, the NCE held a rally in the Winnipeg Auditorium with bands and choirs from Winnipeg High Schools. This service was broadcast across Canada and the United Kingdom.[183] Requests were sent to NCE local committees across Canada to enlist the support of teachers, school boards and churches for co-operation.[184]

In 1939, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth were in Canada when Youth Sunday was celebrated. The May 21 observation saw an address by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, a church service from Vancouver and an address by the King and Queen from Kingston. These activities were broadcast across Canada and the United States.[185]

By 1940 the idea spread to Australia and New Zealand as the result of a visit by A. Sullivan of the Department of Education of British Columbia to those countries. The May 5, 1940, services were broadcast in all four countries. There is evidence that the approval of some governments of this programme was beginning to wear thin.[186] Winnipeg marked May 11, 1941, as Youth Sunday at the Winnipeg Auditorium with a cadet parade and a service conducted entirely by students.[187] In 1942, the Winnipeg School Board commemorated Youth Sunday on April 26, but by now it had become purely a local observance.[188]

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[182] National Council of Education of Canada: A Dominion-Wide Organization for Intellectual and Cultural Co-operation (N.p.: n.pub., n.d.).

[183] School District of Winnipeg Number 1, Committee Minute Book XVI, p. A 1105, May 5, 1938.

[184] SAB, Empire Youth Sunday, Memorandum, McKechnie to School Principals, April 21, 1938.

[185] A Brief Statement on Activities During 1939. . .; SAB, NCE, "National Council of Education: Its Work".

While Empire Youth Sunday did bring the NCE some recognition, it was only for one day per year. Other aspects of the Youth Movement were more concrete.

One of these was the plan for an Empire Youth City. Early in 1938, Ney presented the King and Queen a memorandum suggesting the establishment in London of a permanent youth exchange centre.[189] When he received their approval, he circulated the proposal throughout the Empire. It received a favourable response from all quarters.[190] A group of young architects drew up plans for a series of buildings which would accommodate 2,000 students.[191] The plan called for a series of ten buildings bearing the names of the Dominions and Colonies, clustered around a central building which would house a theatre, library, swimming pool, gymnasium, dining room and common rooms.[192]

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[186] SAB, NCE, Letters, McKechnie to McNally, March 11, 1941; Ney to McKechnie, June 27, 1941.

[187] School District of Winnipeg Number 1, Committee Minute Book XVIII, p. A1417, May 8, 1941.

[188] School District of Winnipeg Number 1, Committee Minute Book XIX. p. A 1551, April 9, 1942.

[189] Empire Youth Movement, Youth City (London: National Council of Education, n.d.), p. 4.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid., p. 11. Ney was able to persuade these young architects to undertake this at no cost.

The estimated cost of this project was $5,000,000 - half for the central building and $250,000 for each of the smaller houses.[193] The central pavilion, Ney indicated, could be paid for with a $250,000 government grant and contributions from local education authorities, British public schools and trust funds.[194] The Dominion pavilions, he said, would be the responsibility of each of the Dominions. In Canada it was suggested that, in addition to requests for funding from the federal and provincial governments, each school child should be encouraged to contribute one cent toward the erection of the Canada building.[195] In some jurisdictions, the plan was favourably received and, in at least Winnipeg, Saskatchewan and Alberta, students were encouraged to contribute towards the fund.[196] The Alberta Department of Education reported to Ney that "the response was not very encouraging,"[197] while in Saskatchewan the auditor's report indicated that in October, 1942, the fund stood at $709.25.[198]

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[192] School District of Winnipeg Number 1, Committee Minute Book XVII, p. A 1175, February 9, 1939.

[193] *Ibid*.

[194] Empire Youth Movement, *Youth City* (London: National Council of Education, N.d.), p. 16.

[195] SAB, *NCE*, "National Council of Education: Its Work," February, 1939.

[196] School District of Winnipeg Number 1, Committee Minute Book XVII, p. A 1175, February 9, 1939.

[197] ADE, *NCE Files*, Letter, McNally to Ney, May 29, 1939.

[198] SAB, *Empire Youth City*, Auditor's Report, October, 1942. By 1955 the Minister of Education was asked what to do with the fund and on May 24, 1957 action was commenced to turn it over to the Student Aid Trust Fund.

Ney was sufficiently heartened by the response to the Youth City scheme to commence immediately on the planning of a similar project for Canada. By late 1938, even before the site for the Youth City project had been selected and the fund-raising campaign properly initiated, Ney was already commencing a campaign in Canada to drum up support for the establishment of a King's Camp at Banff, Alberta, the first of many such camps which he planned to establish throughout the Empire.[199]

In early 1939, Ney announced that the Dominion government had made a site available for the camp and that the Department of Mines and Natural Resources had had their architectural branch draw up plans which had been submitted to His Majesty for inspection.[200] The camp was to be modeled after the Duke of York's Camp in Norfolk, and it was planned to accommodate over 200 boys or girls on alternate years.[201] Like the proposed Youth City in London, the camp was to have nine bungalows named after the nine provinces, each with accommodation for twenty-four students. The bungalows were to surround a large central building to be known as King's House.[202]

The total cost of this proposed camp Ney estimated at $50,000.[203] Ney proposed an appeal to Canadian school children to help finance this camp as well. He announced that a $5,000 donation had already been received from John Wilson McConnell of Montreal, that Harvey Reginald

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[199] Calgary Herald, January 25, 1939, p. 10.

[200] A Brief Statement on Activities During 1939. . . .

[201] Calgary Herald, January 25, 1939, p. 10.

[202] ADE, NCE files, Telegram, Ney to McNally, May 23, 1939.

[203] SAB, NCE, "National Council of Education: Its Work."

McMillan of Vancouver had undertaken to provide the necessary timber and that large numbers of children in Quebec and Saskatchewan had already contributed toward the construction costs.[204]

It is difficult to determine how much of this was simply wishful thinking on Ney's part. The governments of Saskatchewan and Quebec had contributed towards the financing of the NCE lectureships in 1938.[205] Perhaps there was some confusion on Ney's part as to the intended purpose of these contributions. Neither can the firmness of the land offer in Banff National Park be determined. Six months after the plan was made public, Ney, in an attempt to gain Alberta's approval for the scheme, held out the possibility that the camp would be situated in the Gulf Islands of British Columbia.[206]

Even more telling was the abrupt letter which Ney received from Beatty, informing him:

> I may say at the outset I was shocked to read the other day in a letter received from the Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa, that you had told them I am interested in your scheme and had promised to donate furniture for the bungalows from the Hotel Vancouver. I have no recollection of having agreed to any such proposal, and in fact my telegram to you October 5th (copy of which I enclose) makes our position very clear.[207]

Beatty was obviously steering clear of any further involvement with Ney's schemes.

There is no record of any funds having been collected from school children in Saskatchewan or Quebec for the King's Camp project. Saskatchewan children had by this time collected several hundred dollars for the Youth City scheme. Ney suggested that plans for the Empire Youth City be temporarily shelved due to the international situation and that the movement should concentrate on creating King's Camp in Banff.[208] The educational authorities in Saskatchewan refused to authorize any transfer of the funds to another scheme and refused, after the outbreak of war, to assist in promoting the King's Camp plan.[209]

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[204] A Brief Statement on Activities During 1939. . ..

[205] SAB, op. cit., Letter, L. Watson to McKechnie, March 16, 1939; RA, op. cit., Letters, Ney to Hutchins, May 28, 1938; November 26, 1938.

[206] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Ney to McNally, June 9, 1939.

[207] CACP, E. W. Beatty Letterbook, 179, Letter, Beatty to Ney- January 9, 1939.

While the outbreak of war interrupted some of Ney's plans, it created an opportunity for the National Council to become involved in a number of other activities. When war broke out, a group of 104 British school girls representing twenty-nine private schools were touring Canada. The National Council considered a return across the Atlantic at that time to be too risky and found accommodation for them in homes, private schools and universities.[210] The University of Toronto and McGill University agreed to allow those who were qualified to enter university to attend classes, tuition free, until they could return home.[211] Two of the students were accepted as guest students at Wellesley College in the United States.[212]

Although a number of the girls returned home as soon as the opportunity availed itself,[213] Ney recognized another field in which the NCE could become involved. The Empire Youth Movement had drawn its main support from among private school students whose parents were wealthy enough to be able to afford the tours that the NCE and the OEL made available to them. Since 1938, Ney, through the Empire Youth Movement, had been working on a system of school affiliations by which Canadian private schools could be linked to British "public" schools.[214] The war created an opportunity to extend the scope and purpose of this scheme. Feeling that such a plan had equal applicability to Canadian public schools, Ney attempted to establish a system of affiliations between British schools and Canadian school districts.[215]

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[208] SAB, op. cit., Letter, Ney to McKechnie, May 11, 1939.

[209] Ibid., Letter, McKechnie to Ney, September 14, 1939.

[210] A Brief Statement on Activities During 1939. . . .

[211] McGUA, National Council of Education, 1935-39, 273, Correspondence, Ney, Beatty, Cody, L. W. Douglas, September 12, 1939, to October 2, 1939.

[212] A Brief Statement on Activities During 1939. . . .

His new affiliation plan involved more than exchanges of "pen letters". His hope was that children from the affiliated schools in England could be evacuated to Canada. The plan had some remarkable success. Within one year, over 600 British school children were in Canada as a result of the NCE initiative.[216] This was done before the federal government adopted a similar plan to assist British war victims.

Ney's evacuation plan was, not surprisingly, most successful with British "public" school children. It was with these institutions that Ney had the strongest ties. British schools with the NCE affiliates in Canada transferred their operations to their Canadian counterparts.[217]

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[213] Ibid., Nearly forty members of this group remained in Canada for the duration of the war.

[214] UAA, President's Papers, 68-1-311, Letter, Ney to Kerr, September 25, 1940.

[215] Ibid., SAB, NCE, Letter, McKechnie to Ney, October 18, 1940.

[216] UAA, loc. cit.

Quite often, brothers and sisters of children in these schools came to Canada as well.[218] Alfred Noyes, the English poet, on a speaking tour of the United States, donated a month of his time to an NCE Canadian tour to raise funds to help finance the education of these children.[219]

While the plan was successful, like most of Ney's schemes it aroused opposition. Although he promoted the scheme as one in which both sides would learn from each other,[220] it was evident that Ney saw the learning as a one-way street. He recommended that the British children not be given a Canadian education but should function as a school within a school, with their own masters or mistresses and in separate rooms.[221] Such an approach would win few friends among Canadians. There was a particularly negative reaction amongst Canadian public school supporters to the type of British children that the NCE was assisting. President Kerr of the University of Alberta supported the idea of government-sponsored evacuees from all classes but objected to the ". . . hand-picked groups such as the National Council of Education seems to be associated with."[222]

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[217] E.g. Roedean School (Brighton, Sussex) moved to Edgehill (Windsor, N.S.); Sherborne School (Dorset) moved to Branksome Hall (Toronto); Abinger Hill Boys Preparatory School (Sussex) moved to Ashbury College (Ottawa); St. Hilda's School (Whitby, Yorkshire) moved to Whitby College (Toronto), Alma College (London, Ont.) and to a special St. Hilda's College Committee at the University of Toronto, ADE, NCE files, Commonwealth Youth Movement, 1958, p. 25.

[218] Miss Lilian Watson, interview, 23 July 1974.

[219] UAA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Stutchbury, August 29, 1940. Three of Noyes' own children were among the group given sanctuary in Canada by the NCE. Ibid., Letter, Ney to Kerr, September 25, 1940.

[220] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Stutchbury, August 29, 1940.

[221] SAB, NCE, Copy of letter, Ney to Mr. Pernez (Superintendent of Schools, Hamilton, Ont.), Septebmer 30, 1940.

[222] UAA, op. cit., Letter, Kerr to Ney, September 20, 1940.

Ney's ideals of British imperialism and aristocratic superiority had become seriously outdated.

The Council's Fate

The most successful of all of the National Council's undertakings was its lectureship programme. Its successes in this field were based on a number of factors, important among which were the desire of Canadian audiences to keep "in touch" with thinking in Britain and the existence among many Englishmen of a sense of patriotic duty toward "the colonies". Over the years some important developments took place which changed both of these feelings.

One of these developments was the rapid improvement in transportation and communication. By the end of the 1930's air travel was becoming widely accepted by the middle class, and radio and the cinema gave almost immediate access to all levels of society to all of the latest in world events. These changes reduced the need for touring speakers.

Another change was the creation, in 1934, of the British Council for Relations with Other Countries. The purpose of this new body was the promotion of a wide knowledge of the English language, of English literature, art, music, science, education, institutions and other aspects of British National life.[223] The British Council drew its funds from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Overseas Development Administration and the Department of Trade and Industry. Its work included arranging for: English books to be provided to libraries abroad, foreign students and teachers to vacation or study in Britain, performance abroad of works by

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[223] Parliamentary Debates, Thirty-seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom, Vol. 300, 1934-35, pp. 972-73.

British composers, tours abroad by British musicians and conductors, financial aid for Anglo-foreign societies abroad, and lecture tours abroad of distinguished English speakers.[224] While the activities of the British Council coincided perfectly with Ney's concept of the role of the National Council, it had the effect of hastening the Canadian body's demise.

One of the problems which the National Council had long encountered was that of persuading those speakers who could command high lecture fees in the United States to donate their time to lecture in Canada.[225] After 1934 this problem increased. Now there was an official agency in Britain which would pay people to do the very thing which Ney was requesting them to do voluntarily. While the British Council wished to increase the contact between Britain and the Empire, it did not have enough funding to do an adequate job in this field. It concentrated its efforts on the colonies and protectorates in the Mediterranean and in areas where Axis influence was on the increase.[226] Therefore, while the British Council was effectively drying up Ney's source of speakers, he was not free to call on its services to aid the hard pressed NCE.[227]

As speakers became more difficult to obtain, Ney was placed in the position of compromising standards. Instead of the world-renowned figures that he had once been able to attract, increasingly he was forced to rely on authors wishing to promote sales of their latest books, performers wishing to gain stage experience or hoping to build up a Canadian audience, and political figures desiring a platform to promote their causes. Such a development led to complaints from local committees[228] and a further decline in NCE audiences.

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[224] Ibid., Vol. 310, 1935-36, p. 627.

[225] UAA, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5 - 3 (5), Letter, Ney to Wallace, April 12, 1933.

[226] Correspondence, H. P. Croom-Johnson (former secretary of the British Council) to R. P. H. Davies (Director of Information of the British Council), October 25, 1974, Copy in possession of author.

[227] Ibid.

This also led to tensions within the NCE executive. Following one concert tour, Richardson's office was flooded by complaints and he, in turn, passed on the criticism to Ney. He wrote:

> You have, in the past, been responsible for bringing out to Canada some very outstanding speakers, but I feel most emphatically that we should keep to the field where we belong and where we can render a service, and if we are going to let our standards down or send out people we are not absolutely sure about, then I do not think there is any use for our existence.[229]

Such criticism stung Ney to the quick. He felt that he was being let down by the whole country. He retorted:

> Meanwhile, I . . . do the best I may - and at the end of it you ignore - after a long silence - the 3/4 ths of the winter programme which was financed on the proverbial shoestring - and write to me as you have done about Ramsay and Timberg. I haven't told anyone else, that one reason I accepted these two people was that they were paying their own transportation - an important factor in our present situation.[230]

Such an approach was in marked contrast to the important lecturers which the Council had attracted in the 1920's and the impressive dramatic, musical and dance troupes which had toured under the aegis of the Council in the early 1930s. For this reason, the war, which interrupted the flow of speakers from Britain, acted as a form of euthanasia on the National Council's lectureship scheme.

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[228] See above p. 336.

[229] RA, NCE files, Letter, Richardson to Ney, March 20, 1937. Richardson also pointed out that the particular individuals in question were, at best, of dubious quality, having been refused the sponsorship of the Winnipeg Women's Musical Club a few years earlier.

[230] *Ibid.*, Letter, Ney to Richardson, April 5, 1937.

The war also forced a complete interruption in the work of Ney's other major organization, the Overseas Education League. Tours of England were no longer possible and there was no room on the trans-Atlantic convoys to transport exchange teachers. The Overseas Education League suspended its operations until the war was over.

Even the Empire Youth Movement work of the National Council had to be interrupted. With the exception of the Empire Youth Sunday Service and the efforts with the NCE's affiliated school evacuee programme,[231] the Council's work came to a stand-still.

If the National Council had continued to pursue the aims envisaged for it by the organizers of the Winnipeg conference, there would have been ample work to keep it busy. The original impetus for the creation of the Council arose out of the patriotic fervour of the First World War; a desire to ensure that young Canadians shared with the adults in society the vision of what Canada should stand for. The outbreak of World War II saw a marked increase in the desire of Canadians to ensure that an adequate amount of civic education be taught in the schools.

In 1939, however, Ney was too caught up in dreams for the Empire Youth Movement, plans for Empire Youth City and King's Camp, and the pressing problem of arranging for the transportation, accommodation and education of the school children that the Council was evacuating from England, to concern himself with the renewed interest in citizenship training in Canadian schools. As a result of the NCE's failure to reclaim its interest over this field, a new body was established to fill the void.

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[231] The NCE evacuation programme became redundant in 1940 when the federal government of Canada instituted a similar plan.

The man responsible for the creation of this new organization was the Honourable Charles Hanford Blakeny, the Minister of Education for New Brunswick. On his initiative, a conference was held in Ottawa on November 20, 1940, to discuss the problem of citizenship education in Canada. The meeting was attended by delegates representing every province except Alberta and nearly every national organization in Canada with an interest in education, except the NCE.[232]

Many of those in attendance were, or had been, NCE members. Blakeny, who called the meeting was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Council.[233] So was the first chairman of the newly formed Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, the Honourable Duncan McArthur, the Minister of Education for Ontario. Henry Munro, the long-time chairman of the Halifax local committee, was also there. Although discussions at this initial meeting led to increasing the number of groups represented in the new body from thirteen to sixteen, and although the power to add other groups was granted to the executive, the National

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[232] Delegates included four ministers of education, four deputy ministers and representatives from the Canadian Teachers Federation, the Ontario Secondary Teachers Federation [sic], the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Young Mens Christian Association, the Workers' Educational Association of Canadian Clubs, the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation, the Canadian Legion Committee on Education, the National Film Board, the Canada Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Society, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics Education Statistics Branch, the Dominion Youth Training Branch, the Canadian Universities Conference and the Canada-Newfoundland Education Association. Not officially represented at the meeting but included as members of the body which was formed were the National Federation of Home and School Associations, the Red Cross Society and the Canadian Association of Junior Chambers of Commerce. PAC, Canadian Citizenship Council, Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship Minutes Book, Informal Conference of Educational Authorities, Ottawa, November 20, 1940.

Council was never asked to join. It is obvious that none of the forty-two representatives at the meeting considered the NCE to be a viable educational organization.

The first meeting of The Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship met in Ottawa the following day. The new body moved quickly to coordinate federal and provincial government activities in the field of civic education.[234] The next meeting, which took place in less than two months time, approved a syllabus and a plan for a series of pamphlets on Canadian democracy to be drawn up by the Canadian Teachers' Federation, a series of plays on the theme of democracy to be broadcast on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, a compendium of sources for teachers of civics, the creation of an educational publication committee to assist in publication, and a radio and film committee to work with the CBC and the NFB.[235] Not only did the new body move rapidly, but the circle of involvement got increasingly larger as dedicated and active people were brought in on the group's work.

The new organization was able to involve individuals and organizations in a way that Ney had not been able to do. The Canadian Teachers' Federation had, as early as 1936, expressed an interest in the area of civic education,[236] and The Canada-Newfoundland Education Association had decided to focus on a citizenship theme even before

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[233] RA, NCE files, Undated brochure announcing Major Ney's forthcoming visit to Great Britain and the Union of South Africa.

[234] PAC, op. cit., Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship Minute Book, Initial Meeting, Ottawa, November 21, 1940.

[235] Ibid., Executive Committee Minutes, January 13, 1941.

[236] Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Bulletin, IV, January, 1937, p. 35.

Blakeny called the 1940 conference.[237] Other groups, such as the Junior Red Cross, needed no urging to become involved.[238] The underlying interest that Bulman and his group had tapped still existed in Canada. Canadians were obviously more interested in civic education in the schools than in supporting lecture tours by imperialist speakers.

McArthur and his executive made an attempt to ensure the French Canadians felt part of the new body. All materials were printed in both languages,[239] and two secretaries were appointed, one French-speaking and one English-speaking.[240]

Although there was some initial suspicion on the part of the governments of Alberta and Saskatchewan,[241] the co-operation that the group received from government was excellent. The province of Ontario donated facilities and services valued at an estimated $6,000 per annum and other provinces were asked for grants ranging from $200 to $2,000.[242] The federal government readily acceded to a request for $3,000.[243] Although the NCE had been in economic difficulties for over a decade, the new body had no difficulty in financing an operation with an initial annual budget of over $16,000.

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[237] ADE, CEA files, Minutes of CEA Directors, Kingston, August 27, 1940.

[238] SAB, Canadian Council of Education For Citizenship, passim.

[239] Ibid.

[240] PAC, op. cit., Executive Committee Minutes, February 24, 1941.

[241] SAB, NCE, Letters, McNally to McKechnie, March 11, 1941; McKechnie to McNally, February 18, 1939.

[242] PAC, loc. cit.

[243] Ibid., April 7, 1941.

There were a number of important differences between the NCE and the Canadian Citizenship Council as it soon became known. The CCC's scope was much narrower than that of the NCE, it was interested primarily in wartime propaganda. It was also a less idealistic and more practical body than the NCE. It was highly organized and studious. It avoided big names, choosing instead to appoint individuals with less prestige but who were actively involved. Attempts were made by the CCC to encourage involvement at all levels. It promised immediate results in terms of concrete activities. The creation of the Canadian Citizenship Council effectively destroyed any chance of the NCE moving back into the area in which it had originally been intended to serve.

Other developments prevented the National Council from playing effective roles in other educational spheres as well. During the 1920's the NCE had eclipsed the Canadian Educational Association. This body, which had provided a meeting ground for Canadian educators since the 1890s, failed to hold their biennial meetings on a regular basis between 1918 and 1934 because of the more impressive meetings arranged by the NCE. The failure of the proposed 1932 NCE Education and Health Conference to materialize led to a revival of the CEA.[244]

Not only did the CEA revive, it began to prosper. In 1938 it expanded to include Newfoundland. In that year the revitalized body moved to ease the flow of educational materials from the United States.[245]

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[244] Freeman K. Stewart, Interprovincial Cooperation in Education: The Story of the Canadian Education Association (Toronto: W. J. Gage Limited, 1957), pp. 35, 71.

[245] Proceedings of the Eighteenth Convention of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association (Halifax, Saint John and Charlottetown, August 15-19, 1938), p. 22.

Also in 1938, it established a committee to deal with the question of educational research. That committee joined with representatives of the Canadian Teachers' Federation and obtained funding ($1,500) from the Carnegie Corporation to establish the Canadian Council for Educational Research.[246] This new body, with Milton E. Lazerte of the University of Alberta as director, was promised a $5,000 annual grant from the Carnegie Corporation for the first two years of its operation.[247] In this way, another of the National Council's original goals was being met - by the efforts of other bodies.

Even in the areas where the NCE had once flourished it was unable to hold its own. Despite its pioneering work encouraging educatinal radio broadcasting, the Council rapidly lost ground in the late 1930's. In spite of the pioneer work done by the Halifax and Montreal local committees in the area of school broadcasts, the only broadcasts of significance undertaken by the NCE after the formation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation were the Empire Youth Movement broadcast from Westminster Abbey following the coronation and those in conjunction with Empire Youth Sunday each spring. When national school broadcasting commenced on the CBC in 1942, the NCE was not involved. In the area of adult educational broadcasting, the NCE's format of serious radio lectures was widely copied by such groups as the League of Nations Society and the Canadian Institute for International Affairs. Although the CBC did, at times, broadcast NCE talks, the Council never regained its position of primacy in this field.

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[246] Ibid., pp. 16, 34.

[247] Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Bulletin V, November, 1939, p. 20.

Under the pressure of the war and unable to operate in any of the areas in which the NCE had previously functioned, Ney turned to the promotion of the war effort. Instead of becoming more practical he seemed to become more idealistic in the face of the war. He was openly and proudly an imperialist proclaiming before the war that the Empire was the bulwark of peace[248] yet becoming increasingly jingoistic as the war continued.

As soon as the war broke out, Ney came up with a plan to involve the National Council in a support role to the Empire similar to his school affiliation programme. It involved the assignment of one unit of the British armed forces to each of the local committees of the NCE. The committees would be responsible for providing parcels, etc., to their unit. At least one of the locals (Halifax) rejected this specific suggestion,[249] and another (Edmonton) informed Ney that it was opposed to the NCE expanding its activities beyond the lectureship scheme.[250]

Such reactions, however, never deterred Ney. With renewed determination he came up with a ". . . plan for the mobilization of the Empire's spiritual forces."[251] The plan was designed as a salute to Britain to be held on St. George's Day, April 23rd, 1941. Although first conceived as a day of prayer and dedication along with radio broadcasts and school lessons on British history, it grew more grandiose as the details were worked out.[252] Letters were sent to all church groups, departments of education and national bodies, asking for their co-operation. Drawing inspiration from the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the Battle of Trafalgar, Ney planned to have King George VI light a torch at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Westminster Abbey signaling the lighting of a circle of bonfires around the world, special church services throughout the Empire, newspaper articles, special military parades, public meetings and business luncheons focused on Britain's struggle against Germany,[253] and a collection of one day's wages to go toward the purchase of a battleship to be named Victory II.[254]

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[248] Calgary Herald, January 25, 1939, p. 10.

[249] PANS, NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, November 22, 1933.

[250] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Newson to Ney, November 17, 1941.

[251] SAB, NCE, Letter, Ney to McKechnie, August 7, 1940, attached.

Reaction from some quarters was quite positive. The Ontario government published a brochure marking the day, the Royal Canadian Navy readily agreed to undertake special activities, and many churches, schools and newspapers marked the day with special tributes. The programme highlight was a CBC national radio broadcast from a rally in Massey Hall, Toronto, recordings of which were flown to England for rebroadcast over the BBC.[255] It was, generally, a popular success.

Not everyone felt this way, however. Ney recognized that his "Salute to Britain might be misinterpreted by . . . groups of non Anglo-Saxon origin . . .,"[256] and he attempted to argue that "This 'salute' is

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[252] PANS, Crowell Papers, "King's Covenant", NCE circular, dated November, 1940.

[253] UAA, President's Papers, 68-1-331, Letter, Ney to Kerr, March 24, 1941.

[254] SAB, NCE, Letter, Ney to McKechnie, August 7, 1940.

[255] RA, NCE files, Undated brochure announcing Major Ney's forthcoming visit to Great Britain and the Union of South Africa.

[256] UAA, President's Papers, 68-1-331, Letter, R. Fletcher to Newson, March 31, 1941.

not merely to England, it is rather an acknowledgement of the debt we owe to all, irrespective of race, who today are standing for freedom."[257] Such an argument, however, had little impact on critics who objected to Ney's narrow ethnocentrism. Such criticism was not limited to those of non-British origin. President J. S. Thomson of the University of Saskatchewan supported the concept of the salute to Britain but argued that the choice of St. George's Day for the tribute confused Britain with England.[258] Such objections were ignored.

With the success of the 1941 St. George's Day tribute behind him, Ney went on to plan the 1942 Empire Youth Sunday in conjunction with St. George's Day. Canadians may have been willing to overlook the confusing of Britain with England but felt differently when no distinction was made between England and the Empire.[259] Objections were raised by others who felt that the NCE had no right to operate in this field,[260] who felt that the expense of the materials was too high,[261] who felt that there was already enough patriotic material without more being produced and distributed,[262] who had misgivings about the schools' promoting national days,[263] or who simply opposed imperialism.[264]

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[257] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Ney to McNally, March 29, 1941.

[258] USA, Presidential Papers, Series II, B, 117, National Conference of Education, 1938-41, Letter, James Sutherland Thomson to Ney, March 13, 1941. Failing to get any satisfaction from Ney, Thomson wrote to Robert Fletcher on March 31, 1941, "Being a member of a non Anglo-Saxon group, we have had to resent this all down through history and I do not propose at this juncture to acquiesce in perpetuating it."

[259] SAB, NCE, Letter, McKechnie to Ney, March 12, 1942.

[260] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Newson to McNally, November 17, 1941.

[261] Ibid., Letter, McNally to Ney, March 11, 1942.

[262] SAB, NCE, Letter, McKechnie to Ney, March 12, 1942.

World events intervened in Ney's plans, however. In December, 1941, the United States entered the war on the Allied side. Ney, who had since 1939 become increasingly involved with such pro-British American organizations as the Newcomen Society and the Magna Carta Day Society,[265] moved to switch the focus of his tribute. The April 26, 1942, programme featured a trans-Atlantic Broadcast Service between Westminster Abbey and Washington Cathedral.[266] The Americans, whose influence Ney and the NCE had struggled for two decades to stem, had now become the cherished allies who had to be cultivated.

Ney, however, had to be concerned with more mundane problems than the reconciliation of the United States and the British Empire. By 1942 the Canadian National Council of Education was bankrupt.

The Council had suffered financial difficulties ever since the 1929 conference. One of the things which Richardson had hoped to undertake as president of the NCE was the establishment of a foundation to supply funding.[267] The depression prevented this plan from being implemented just as it had prevented the holding of the 1932 conference.

Despite financial problems, the Council had attempted to keep up its work. When the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare was established for a six-month trial period in November, 1933, the National Council agreed to pay $62.50 per month as a portion of its secretary's salary.[268] Despite the fact that Ney was not receiving any salary and in 1932 had been forced to borrow $2,000 from the Bank to live on,[269] the Council continued to pay the salary of Roy Campbell, the secretary of the Montreal local.

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[263] Ibid., Memo, G. B. Stillwell to McKechnie, March 4, 1942.

[264] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Ney to McNally, March 23, 1942, Pencilled notation on the margin initialled H. C. N. (Hubert C. Newland).

[265] Ibid., NCE files, passim; UAA, Presidential Papers, 68-1-331, passim.

[266] RA, NCE files, Undated brochure announcing Ney's forthcoming visit to Great Britain and the Union of South Africa.

[267] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935.

The lack of funds placed the NCE in an impossible situation. A. Edward Anderson, the Chairman of the Winnipeg local, identified the problem in a report to Richardson in 1934. He stated that, although the Council's programmes were valuable and appreciated, they lacked direction, clarity in arrangements and adequate financing. These flaws could be overcome, he claimed, by having a national budget which would secure proper staff, allow financial support for local committees and leave Ney free ". . . for the planning of programmes and securing of speakers - a work which he does with unique success."[270]

Ney recognized his own strengths and weaknesses[271] and attempted on a number of occasions to have the Council appoint someone who would be more able than he to handle the prosaic aspects of running the NCE. This was never done. Even when the Toronto and Montreal local committees employed executive secretaries,[272] little was done to change the Council's mode of operation.

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[268] Ibid., Letter, Hutchins to Ney, February 0, 1934.

[269] Ibid., Letter, A. E. Stringer (Assistant Manager, Bank of Commerce, Toronto) to Richardson, November 4, 1938. Richardson had guaranteed the loan.

[270] RA, NCE files, Letter, Anderson to Richardson, March 6, 1934.

[271] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935.

[272] J. M. Phelp, the Toronto secretary, had to be released for budgetary reasons. Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, April 13, 1935.

Despite the valuable work that Roy Campbell had done for the NCE in Montreal, his position became a source of irritation for Ney. Ney's feelings toward Campbell cooled because of their disagreements over the NCE's stand regarding public broadcasting and the newly emerging CAAE. Ney wished to have Campbell's post in Montreal abolished in order to allow the Council to hire an assistant for him in Winnipeg.[273] The fact that Campbell continued to draw a monthly salary from the NCE while Ney went for years without pay did nothing to improve the relationship.

Campbell could continue to function as the Montreal local committee's secretary despite Ney's objections because of his relationship with McGill University. When the Montreal local had been established, it had been placed under the auspices of the Royal Institute for the Advancement of Learning. Over the years the Montreal local had received the support and encouragement of a number of prominent Montrealers, many of whom were members of McGill's administration. It was with the backing of people like Currie, Bovey and Beatty that Campbell and the Montreal Committee had continued to thrive in the early 1930's while other parts of the NCE slowly atrophied.

Such growth cost money, however. By 1935 the Montreal local was in debt to the Royal Institute to a total of $4,354.95.[275] This debt came as a complete surprise to the NCE headquarters, and Campbell was informed that local committees were responsible for their own financing.[276] Beatty sponsored the overdraft for the Montreal committee[277] and eventually ended up paying off more than $5,000 in debts that Campbell had incurred.[278]

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[273] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, July 15, 1934.

[274] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, December 11, 1937.

[275] Ibid., Copy of McGill College's Royal Institute for the Advancement of Learning NCE account, dated August 1, 1935.

It was not only the Montreal local which was running in the red. In the first five years of Richardson's presidency, Council expenditure averaged over $12,300 annually.[279] By the end of January, 1936, the central office of the NCE was $32,000 in debt.[280] In the face of this, Richardson, Ney and Hutchins all made a concerted effort to bolster the Council's sagging fortune.

Richardson approached Prime Minister R. B. Bennett to have the Council's federal grant reinstated and was promised $10,000. Bennett was absent from cabinet the day the estimates were passed and gave Richardson to understand that the grant would be given by means of a Governor General's Warrant.[281] Before this could be done, a federal election was held. and W. L. Mackenzie King's Liberal government proved less sympathetic than Bennett's Conservatives had been.[282] Bennett personally gave the council £100 in 1937[283] but he refused to renew it two years later.[284]

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[276] *Ibid*., Copy of letter, Richardson to Campbell, November 22, 1935

[277] *Ibid*., Letter, Campbell to Richardson, August 14, 1935.

[278] *Ibid*., Circular letter, Richardson to NCE executive members, January 26, 1939.

[279] *Ibid*., "National Council of Education, Receipts and Expenditures by Years," typewritten, n.d. [1939].

[280] *Ibid*., NCE Accounts, January 31, 1936. Twenty-six thousand dollars of this had been advanced or guaranteed by Richardson.

[281] *Ibid*., Letter, Richardson to Ney, November 22, 1935.

[282] *Ibid*.

Hutchins drew up a list of all life insurance companies working in Canada, and Ney approached them in an attempt to obtain financing for a lectureship in health.[285] Ney also contacted International Nickel to sponsor a $1,000 annual lectureship in economics.[286] A similar approach was made to Canadian banks.[287] In every instance Ney reported a positive response to his request. NCE financial statements, however, show that none of these positive responses were ever translated into donations to the Council.

Ney also attempted to interest Vincent Massey in renewing the Massey Foundation grant. Massey's response was that renewed support was conditional on changes being made in the Council's operations.[288] When a contribution was finally made by the Massey Foundation, it was for the Overseas Education League, not the NCE, on the grounds that the Council was not on proper footing.[289] Ney was nonplussed by this, commenting: ". . . it does not matter a great deal which, for one helps the other."[290] Ney was not concerned about legal niceties as long as he was able to keep

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[283] CACP, E. W. Beatty Letterbook, 162, Letter, Beatty to Ney, March 13, 1937.

[284] RA, NCE files, Letter, A. E. Miller to Richardson, March 14, 1939.

[285] Ibid., List of Insurance Firms, January 30, 1936; Letter, Ney to Richardson, March 3, 1936.

[286] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, March 3, 1936.

[287] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, May 28, 1938.

[288] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Richardson, May 20, 1935.

[289] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, November 26, 1938.

[290] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, June 21, 1938.

his dreams afloat.

Richardson, meanwhile had grown tired of paying the Council's bills. By the end of 1938 he had advanced $46,265 to the NCE,[291] and other contributions, which had averaged over $12,000 annually between 1928 and 1932, had dwindled to $3.50.[292] Richardson gave Ney notice that as of December 31st, 1938 he would not continue to pay all of the NCE debt.[293]

This notice spurred Ney into renewed activity to obtain funding. Attempts had been made in 1935 to interest the Hudson's Bay Company in supporting a lectureship in visual education and geography. Some interest had been expressed at that time by P. Ashley Cooper, the Company's Governor,[294] but no funds were ever forthcoming. In 1938 Ney approached Cooper again.[295] He also approached the Imperial Relations Trust,[296] the Rhodes Trust, the British Council,[297] and Garfield Weston, a Canadian-born British industrialist.[298] Ney indicated that he had a generally favourable response from all of them and reported receiving a £200 per annum guarantee from the Rhodes Trust, the British Council, the Hudson's Bay Company and Garfield Weston.[299]

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[291] Ibid., "National Council of Education, Receipts and Expenditures by years."

[292] Ibid.

[293] Originally the deadline Richardson set was May 31, 1938. It is evident that it had been extended up to the end of December, 1938. Ibid., Letters, Hutchins to Richardson, May 25, 1938; December 8, 1938.

[294] Ibid., Letter, Cooper to Richardson, November 18, 1935.

[295] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Cooper, August 12, 1938.

[296] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, December 14, 1937.

[297] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, October 10, 1938.

[298] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, November 26, 1938.

Ney's report would seem to have more to do with Richardson's deadline than with the responses that he received. There is no record of any contributions from any of these sources. Cooper, in fact, had been in touch with Richardson privately and had informed him that the economic situation and fear of the reaction of British shareholders prevented the Hudson's Bay Company from assisting the Council.[300] The British Council, which Ney claimed would give final approval to its grant to the NCE on December 13th, 1938, had no provision for working with the Dominion at that time. Sir Angus Gillan did not establish the Commonwealth and Empire Division of the British Council until 1941.[301] Officials in the British Council at that time have no recollection of requests for funding ever coming to them from the NCE.[302] Although Ney claimed that Weston's first cheque for £200 had already arrived,[303] Council financial records do not show its receipt.[304]

Ney had somewhat more success collecting funds in Canada. At least three universities gave commitments totalling $500 towards a proposed $1000 universities lectureship.[305] Two provinces, Quebec

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[299] Ibid., Letters, Ney to Hutchins, November 26, 1938; December 26, 1938.

[300] Ibid., Letter, Cooper to Richardson, September 27, 1938.

[301] Correspondence, Sir Angus Gillan to the author, May 16, 1975.

[302] Ibid., Correspondence, M. P. Croom-Johnson to R. P. H. Davies, October 25, 1974.

[303] RA, NCE files, Letter, Ney to Hutchins, November 20, 1938.

[304] Ibid., "National Council of Education, Receipts and Expenditures by years."

[305] The University of Toronto committed $200, McGill University an equal amount and the University of Saskatchewan offered $100. Ibid., Letter, Hutchins to Richardson, May 25, 1938; McGUA, National Council of

and Saskatchewan, also agreed to contribute to the proposed provincial government lectureship.[306] This was, however, far from Ney's declaration that most departments of education and most universities had agreed to help fund the two lectureships.[307]

Despite the twice delayed deadline, Richardson continued to pay NCE bills until a meeting of the Council executive could be held. On January 26, 1939, he wrote all members of the executive informing them that he could no longer assume sole responsibility for Council debts.[308] Although letters of appreciation and offers to share the debt came in, no suggestions were made as to how the Council could be financed.[309] At the meeting of the executive on February 15, 1939, Richardson officially resigned as president and declared that he would not be responsible for any NCE expenses after March 31, 1939.[310] He assured the executive that on his retirement the Council would be debt free,[311] and when Hutchins resigned as Honourary Treasurer on May 29, 1939, the NCE books showed a

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Education 1935-39, 273, Unsigned letter to Ney, October 24, 1938; USA, Presidential Papers, Series II, B-117, NCE 1938-1941, Letter, J. S. Thomson to Ney, May 17, 1938.

[306] SAB, NCE, Letters, McKechnie to McNally, February 18, 1939; Lilian Watson to McKechnie, March 16, 1939. RA, NCE files, Letter, Ney to Hutchins, May 25, 1938. Ontario found it impossible to contribute toward the plan that year. RA, NCE files, Letter, Duncan McArthur to Richardson, February 1, 1939.

[307] RA, NCE files, Letter, Ney to Hutchins, November 25, 1938.

[308] Ibid., Circular letter, Richardson to NCE executive members, January 25, 1939.

[309] Ibid., NCE files, 1939, passim.

[310] Ibid., Memo to NCE employees from G. W. Hutchins, n.d.

[311] Ibid., Memo to Executive Committee members re meeting of February 15, 1939.

nil balance.[312] Richardson's total contribution to the Council over the nine years of his presidency came to $52,626.41.[313]

The February executive meeting agreed that the NCE needed reorganization. They approved changing Ney's title to Executive Vice-President and appointing a full-time Executive Secretary and a full-time assistant.[314] No mention was made, however, as to how such an increase in staff could be paid for.

Although Beatty agreed to grant the Council $5,800 annually to be earmarked specifically for salaries,[315] he not only refused the presidency, he also resigned as Honorary Vice-President.[316] Beatty suggested that Sir Robert Falconer, J. M. Macdonnell, Right Honourable Arthur Meighen or Right Honourable Mackenzie King be considered as possible presidents.[317] Ney favoured Howard Ferguson, the former Ontario Minister of Education, for the position.[318]

Neither Ney nor Beatty seem to have seen the flaw in the system of appointing people because of their names rather than their interest in the Council. Ferguson, although nominally an executive member, knew very little about the NCE. He had written Richardson prior to the February 15 meeting indicating that, though he had "known something" of the NCE's work for some years, he did not even know how he had become associated with it and was never interested enough to inquire into it.[319] Yet this was the man favoured by Ney to become president.

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[312] Ibid., Report of G. W. Hutchins, May 31, 1939.

[313] Ibid., "National Council of Education, Receipts and Expenditures by years."

[314] Ibid., Memo to Executive Committee members re meeting of February 15, 1939.

[315] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Hutchins, May 12, 1939. Hutchins, having resigned from the NCE, returned the cheque to Ney on May 15, 1939.

[316] CACP, E. W. Beatty Letterbook, 185, Letter, Beatty to Ney, July 18, 1939.

[317] Ibid.

[318] RA, NCE files, Letter, Ney to Hutchins, March 4, 1939.

It was evident throughout 1938 that Ney did not take Richardson's threats of resignation seriously.[320] Shortly after the February, 1939, NCE executive meeting, however, Richardson died and the Council was forced to reorganize.

Although the Council considered closing down after Richardson's death,[321] Beatty's grant allowed it to continue its work. With the outbreak of war a decision was made to attempt to continue because Canada would have need for the Council in the post-war period.[322] The University of Toronto continued to provide office space in that city as did the Sun Life Assurance Company in Montreal and the Winnipeg Electric Company in Winnipeg.[323] The Council was reformed and a number of new executive members added.[324] The Presidency, however, was not filled.

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[319] Ibid., Letter, Howard Ferguson to Richardson, February 7, 1939.

[320] Ibid., Letters, Hutchins to Richardson, May 25, 1938; December 28, 1938.

[321] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Fletcher to Hon. William Aberhart, March 27, 1940.

[322] Ibid.

[323] CEA Library, NCE, Letter, Ney to Dr. G. M. Weir, n.d.

[324] PANS, Crowell Papers, National Council of Education Circular, November, 1940. The Earl of Athlone succeeded Lord Tweedsmuir as Honorary President. Sir Eugene Fiset, the Lieutenant Governor of

Ney still hoped to obtain funding for the Council's activities from the Carnegie Corporation and in the letters appealing for funding he was careful to point out that Dr. A. E. Stearns of the International Education Council had been appointed Honorary Corresponding Secretary for the United States and that Lieutenent-Colonel J. W. Flanagan, the President of the Andeon National Corporation, an American residing in Toronto, had accepted the position of Chairman of the Council's finance committee.[325] This proved to be in vain because the Carnegie Corporation decided, as they had with the Council's seven previous applications, that the NCE's work was outside of the terms of reference of the Corporation's programme.[326]

Not only were Carnegie funds not available, the war made any hope of receiving funding from Great Britain impossible as well.[327] The Council was reduced to pleading with the provinces to support its activities.[328] In the face of competition from the new Canadian Council

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Quebec, succeeded Beatty as Honorary Vice-President. Robert Fletcher succeeded G. W. Hutchins as Honorary Treasurer. Major Fredrick Ney became Executive Vice-President. Frederick Neil Southam had resigned and was replaced by Dr. Cyril James, the Principal of McGill University. The following were all added to the executive: Hon. John Wilfred Esty, Minister of Education of Saskatchewan, Hon. Ivan Shultz, Minister of Education of Manitoba, Hon. Charles Hanford Blakeny, Minister of Education of New Brunswick, and Mr. William Harold Malking of Vancouver.

[325] Carnegie Corporation, National Council of Education of Canada files, Letter, Ney to Charles Dollard, September 19, 1941. Although these moves would seem to prove that the NCE was moving into the folds of American influence, Ney did not see it this way. He declared: "Common dangers have brought the United States into the 'Imperial Orbit' as could no other upheaval of force." PNAS, Crowell Papers, NCE Circular, November, 1940.

[326] Correspondence, Stephen H. Stackpole, Director of Commonwealth Program of Carnegie Corporation of New York, November 11, 1974.

[327] SAB, NCE, Letter, Ney to McKechnie, November 27, 1940.

of Education for Citizenship[329] and the decline in the popularity of Council lecturers,[330] it is not surprising that funds were not available from these sources either. As a result, at the end of May, 1942, NCE offices were closed due to lack of funds.[331]

The Council's expiry was untimely. Seven months later, the British Council moved to undertake the funding of a Canadian equivalent of the British Council. An anonymous donor had presented the British government with a bequest of £50,000 to strengthen cultural ties with the Empire. One fifth of this was allocated to Canada to promote closer Anglo-Canadian relations. As no Canadian body existed to undertake this work, a committee was set up to carry it out.[332]

Meanwhile, Ney was no longer in Canada. E. G. Malherbe, of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research in Pretoria, had written to Ney in 1938 and 1939 requesting information on the NCE. The Union of South Africa, according to Ney, was considering establishing a

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[328] Ibid.; ADE, NCE files, Letters, Fletcher to Berhart, March 27, 1940: Fletcher to McNally, October 24, 1941.

[329] SAB, NCE, Letter, McNally to McKechnie, March 11, 1941.

[330] UAA, Presidential Papers, 68-1-331, Letter, Kerr to Newson, May 28, 1941; McGUA, National Council of Education 1935-39, 273, Letter, Ney to Principal of McGill, November 11, 1938, unsigned marginal notation.

[331] ADE, OEL files, Letter, Fletcher to Bellamy, July 4, 1942.

[332] Sir Angus Gillan, "Note on British Council Policy in the Dominions with Special Relation to Canada," typewritten, December 28, 1942. Copy in possession of the author. The committee consisted of Edward A. Corbett of the CAAE, John Grierson of the National Film Board, George de T. Glazebrook of the Department of External Affairs, David O. N. Dunton of the Wartime Information Board, Hon. Joseph Thorarinn Thorson of Ottawa as Chairman and Walter Herbert as secretary.

similar body.[333] In July, 1942, Ney, at the invitation of the South African government, and with funding from the Rhodes Trust, sailed for South Africa.[334] He lectured in Great Britain and Africa for the next four years and did not return to Canada until early 1946.[335]

He returned to Canada with full intentions of reviving both the OEL and the NCE. He also had dreams of a revised version of Empire Youth City. He claimed to have received an offer of the donation of Naworth Castle from the Earl of Carlisle in October, 1946. The castle, a gift through the auspices of the National Trust, was intended for use as a residence for Commonwealth students of the Empire Youth Movement visiting Britain.[336] Seemingly having learned little from his previous mistakes, Ney immediately attempted to arrange a 1946 summer trip to Britain by Canadian students and officials. The preparations were rushed with prospective participants having less than a month to decide to go.[337] The trip never materialized.

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[333] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Fletcher to Aberhart, March 27, 1940. Dr. E. G. Malherbe, the man whom Ney claimed had asked him to come to South Africa, claims no knowledge of this. Correspondence from E. G. Malherbe, March 8, 1976.

[334] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Ney to R. E. Ansley, March 15, 1946; OEL files, Letter, Fletcher to Bellamy, July 4, 1942.

[335] Winnipeg Free Press, March 11, 1946. The Free Press story credited Ney with having established a South African Council during his stay. A later letter by Ney also mentions a Cape Colony Youth Council and its secretary Miss Patti Price. McGUA, National Council of Education 1947-51, 16/140, Letter, Ney to Willis, October 26, 1948. Malherbe denied the existence of such a body, but noted that the New Education Fellowship had established local groups in the 1930's. Correspondence from E. G. Malherbe, March 8, 1976.

[336] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Alexander Brown Ross to William Herbert Swift, April 5, 1946.

[337] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Swift, April 14, 1946.

Undisturbed by this setback, Ney undertook a cross-country tour to reorganize the National Council, the Overseas Education League, and the Empire Youth Movement.[338] He convened meetings of local committees and attempted to interest them in renewing the lectureships, teacher exchanges and youth activities.[339]

He did not receive an enthusiastic response. Locals were willing to cooperate in the marking of Youth Sunday but were reluctant to commit themselves to anything else.[340] In some centres there was strong opposition to Ney's ideas. While Canadians were willing to support programmes which would strengthen Commonwealth solidarity,[341] there was some feeling that Ney's plans were too imperialistic.[342]

There had been a major shift in Canadian opinion during the war. Canadians came out of the war far more nationalistic than they were when it had begun. Canadians now felt themselves to be an independent country. The term 'Empire' which had been proudly accepted prior to World War I was, in post-World War II, an opprobrium. While retaining an interest in maintaining the bonds of Commonwealth friendship, many Canadians were no longer willing to recognize Britain as the "mother country".

Besides this, many educational officials were too strongly committed to the CNEA to encourage the re-establishment of an organization which might rival it. Ney's letter to Departments of Education and to the remaining NCE locals in mid-1945 asking for advice on how the activities of the Council and the OEL might be resumed spurred the CNEA into action.[343] In November, 1945, the CNEA Directors hoped to forestall any hopes of reviving the NCE by informing Prime Minister Mackenzie King:

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[338] Winnipeg Free Press, March 11, 1946, p. 10.

[339] ADE, NCE files, Circular sent to Swift by Ross, April 5, 1946, at Ney's request.

[340] E.g., PANS, NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, April 17, 1946.

[341] ADE, NCE files, Letter, Swift to Ross, April 9, 1946.

[342] SAB, NCE, Letter, Ross to Swift, April 12, 1946, Report of Regina NCE Local Committee meeting.

> The Canadian and Newfoundland Education Association is the only organization representing the Departments of Education of the Provincial Governments, which are the legally constituted authorities over education in Canada and that as such the Canadian and Newfoundland Education Association is the proper body to be consulted on an educational matter affecting Canada as a whole.[344]

The CNEA did more than just issue proclamations. Even before Ney had indicated his intentions of returning to Canada, the directors had instituted a study of teacher exchange provisions in each province.[345] By the end of 1945 the CNEA had undertaken programmes of interprovincial teacher exchanges and correspondence exchange among pupils with a view to eventually extending the programmes to an international level.[346] The League of the Empire recognized the CNEA's legitimacy in the field by inviting it to cooperate in its teacher exchange programme.[347]

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[343] Ibid., Letter, Ney to Saskatchewan Deputy Minister of Education, August 2, 1945.

[344] ADE, CEA, Minutes of the meeting of Directors, Toronto, November 19/20, 1945.

[345] Ibid., OEL files, Letter, Swift to Charles E. Phillips, January 17, 1945.

[346] Ibid., CNEA "Program for the Promotion of Canadian Unity Through the Schools by Inter-Provincial Communication and Exchange", Circular No. 7, December 14, 1945.

[347] Ibid., CNEA, Minutes of the CNEA Executive, Ottawa, December 3/4, 1946.

The CNEA Directors meeting in August, 1946, consolidated its position by extending its teacher exchange programme to all English speaking countries.[348]

That meeting also agreed that the CNEA should establish an information service to act as an educational contact and clearinghouse with other countries. It decided to publish Canadian Education, an educational bulletin, and to inaugurate research programmes in such fields as curricula and textbooks.[349] These were all areas that the NCE had claimed during the interwar period. The CNEA had taken advantage of the NCE's demise to stake out its own claims to these fields.

The CNEA also moved to strengthen Canadian ties with the United Kingdom. It agreed to sponsor a touring exhibit of arts and crafts from Scottish schools and arranged for a lecture tour by J. L. Longland, the County Educational Officer for Dorset.[350] To consolidate links with the USA, the CNEA named representatives to attend the National Education Association meeting in the United States.[351]

Ney's critics claimed that if the National Council of Education were to be revived it ". . . ought to have some name more descriptive of its purposes and less overlapping in its connotation with the well-established C.N.E.A."[352] In order to attempt to placate Major Ney,

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[348] Ibid., CEA, Minutes of Meeting of Directors, August 19, 1946. Ney's pre-war exchange programme through the OEL did not have provision for exchanges with the United States.

[349] Ibid.

[350] Ibid., CNEA, Minutes of the CNEA Executive, Ottawa, December 3/4, 1946.

[351] Ibid.

[352] Ibid., NCE files, Letter, Swift to Ross, April 9, 1946; SAB, NCE files, Letter, Ross to Swift, April 12, 1946.

CNEA supporters decided to attempt to achieve an amalgamation of the two groups. They praised Ney's work in the field of education but pointed out that after the war the CNEA had been forced to move into fields that the NCE and the OEL had occupied because of his absence.[353]

Although Ney had drawn up plans to revive the NCE along the lines of his proposals in the late 1930's and to resume the importation of British lecturers,[354] it was evident that his heart was no longer in this work. He was more interested in the possibilities offered by the Empire Youth Movement. He proposed that the revived National Council should focus on developing relationships with the Commonwealth, leaving other educational activities in the hands of the CNEA.[355]

By March, 1947, Ney had formed the nucleus of a new executive. The prominent Canadians he had persuaded to serve included John Wilson McConnell, Vincent Massey, Cardinal John Charles McGuigan, Archbishop Derwyn Owen, Rev. Henry John Cody, Roland Fairbairn McWilliams, William Harold Malkin and Cyril James.[356] Many of them had served as members of the executive of the old NCE. The Governor General, Viscount Alexander of Tunis, approved the reorganization of the NCE under a new name, the Commonwealth Youth Movement.[357] For the next year, however, Ney continued to use the name which had so irritated members of the CNEA.

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[353] ADE, CNEA, Minutes of the CNEA Executive, Ottawa, December 3/4, 1946.

[354] *Ibid.*, NCE files, Letter, Ney to Ansley, March 15, 1946.

[355] McGUA, National Council on Education, 1947-51, 16/140, Letter, Ney to James, February 3, 1947.

[356] *Ibid.*, Letter, Ney to James, March 25, 1947.

[357] *Ibid.*

The Overseas Education League had, in theory, continued to function during the war. With the loss of the teacher exchanges to the CNEA, the OEL also declined in importance.[358] When the Commonwealth Youth Movement took over the student tours to Europe, the OEL disappeared.[359] For the next two decades, Ney, from his retirement home in Nanaimo, British Columbia, continued to operate the Commonwealth Youth Movement, the sole remainder of two formerly influential educational organizations.[360]

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[358] By 1951 the OEL stationery letterhead listed just the OEL officers, Ney, Watson and Fletcher; none of the provinces now supported the body.

[359] The Lilian Watson Travel Agency in Winnipeg still lists the OEL on its letterhead.

[360] Department of Education officials continued to have apprehensions about these schemes. Swift remarked in 1955, "I have never felt that the annual tour of students arranged by Major Ney really constituted a Youth Movement, though it is doubtless very beneficial to the participants." ADE, OEL file, Letter, Swift to Anders Alborg, December 7, 1955.

Chapter 9

POST-MORTEM ON A DREAM

The story of the National Council of Education of Canada is that of an organization which was established to encourage other educational agencies to do their jobs efficiently, yet which failed to establish a permanent place in Canadian life. It attracted many leading figures and corporations in Canada to lend it moral, financial and practical assistance, yet it did not endure. It espoused and sponsored activities and developments which came to be seen as essential elements of Canadian national life but it did not survive to reap the fruit of its labours. It worked toward the development and expansion of hitherto largely neglected aspects of Canadian education and culture. The very success of its efforts spelled doom for its own continued existence.

A number of nation-wide educational organizations existed in Canada during the inter-war period. Some of them, such as the Canadian Education Association and the Canadian Universities Conference, predated the National Council. Other bodies, such as the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, were established after the Council. Each of these bodies carved out its own niche in the field and gained the support of some elements of the Canadian educational establishment. The NCE, lacking links with institutional education and largely outside of regular educational circles, was dependent on the support of non-educators.

It was, therefore, more subject to societal forces and pressures than other educational organizations.

One of the factors in the National Council's disappearance from the Canadian educational scene was the nature of the organization. The Council's aims, its organizational structure and the way in which its executive functioned created problems which plagued the body.

Another cause of the demise of the NCE was a shift in sentiment in Canada. In the period between World War I and World War II Canadian public opinion shifted from pro-British imperialism through a period of self-confident nationalism to a pro-American continentalism. As a result of these developments, organizations functioning in this area had to alter their positions as well or find themselves out of step with the rest of society. The National Council chose to fight this trend and lost.

Another problem faced by the National Council was rooted in the nature of the Canadian constitution. Although Canadian identity and national sentiment were country-wide problems, the main agency available in 1917 for the inculcation of such feelings, the public school, lay within the purview of the provincial governments. The Council's structure, with a national executive and local committees, did not allow it to function adequately on the provincial level.

The Council also faced problems in financing. Lacking support from government, it had to depend on handouts from business interests. While this worked relatively well in years of prosperity, it encountered problems during the depression of the 1930's. It also created problems when questions of conflict of interest arose. Conflicts were inevitable because of the organizational structure of the Council. They were also inevitable because of the goals that the Council was attempting to achieve had not been agreed upon by the country as a whole.

Aims and Organization

The original impetus for the establishment of the National Council of Education came from a group of Winnipeg educators, clergymen and businessmen. They hoped to be able to establish an organization which would reform Canadian education by including a strong component of moral education as part of the schooling of all Canadian children.

Their hope was that the schools would not only develop morally upright adults but would also produce citizens who would appreciate and work to uphold the Canadian way of life. These aspirations sprang, in part, out of the desire for 'applied Christianity' inherent in the social gospel teachings of the major Protestant churches at the time. In the minds of these founding members, citizenship and Christianity were closely related.

There were also, however, aims of a baser sort. Many of the early supporters and promoters of the National Council were industrialists concerned less with general moral qualities than with daily habits. William J. Bulman, the first president of the NCE, was also actively involved in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, a group which had, since its formation, lobbied for the inclusion of vocational and technical training in the nation's schools. Bulman was interested in assisting the schools to produce adults who held the values of hard work and responsibility which would assure a Canadian war victory and prosperity in the post war period.

It was not surprising that the initiative for the Council sprang up in Western Canada. It was into the three prairie provinces that most of the immigrants to Canada had come over the previous two decades. Block settlements of non-English-speaking ethnic groups were scattered across the broad plains. All three provinces had officials in their departments of education who were responsible for ensuring the education of new Canadians. With many of the young Anglophone men away at war a fear existed that these "foreigners" would not be assimilated. The NCE's founders wanted the schools to produce citizens who would, like the young men of British origin, flock to the recruiting stations, willing to fight for God and King.

Organizers were careful to disclaim any desire to produce citizens of the "My Country Right or Wrong" variety. The organizers made constant reference to the errors of German education which had, supposedly, produced citizens who, though patriotic, lacked spiritual depth.[1] These men felt that Canadians could profit from the mistakes made by other nations and develop good citizens who were at the same time good Christians.

The 1919 Winnipeg Conference created the National Council of Education and charged it with the responsibility of undertaking this task. Its fifty members were selected to represent all nine provinces and the major aspects of Canadian life. The conference failed, however, to select a person to head up this operation or to provide any financing for it.

Undeterred by these drawbacks, the Council threw itself with enthusiasm into its appointed tasks. A meeting in Ottawa in early 1920 decided to set out on an ambitious programme. Members agreed that the Council should launch a large-scale publicity campaign to raise Canadians' awareness of the importance of education. Such a campaign, the Council hoped, would improve teachers' salaries, raise the status of teaching and attract the kind of teachers who would undertake educational reform. The meeting moved to improve the content of education by commissioning three national textbook studies. It directed the executive to pursue the establishment of the National Bureau of Education which the Winnipeg conference had approved.

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[1] William J. Bulman, "Epilogue" in Education and Life: Addresses Delivered at the National Conference On Education and Citizenship, Held at Toronto, Canada, April, 1923, ed. by J[ames] A[lfred] Dale (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 292-293.

The National Council could not undertake these ambitious projects with only a part-time executive: a permanent staff was needed. This difficulty was solved by the appointment of Major Frederick J. Ney as the Council's executive secretary. This appointment brought on new problems.

One of these difficulties was the difference in the aims of Major Ney and the NCE. Ney did not share the Council's faith in the proposed educational propaganda campaign. He believed that the main thrust of the National Council should be a broad programme of adult education. He hoped to enrich the culturally starved existence of Canadians[2] by using important speakers from England to uplift all Canadians, not just school children.

Ney was in agreement with the Council's founders in one regard, he believed that education is more than just schooling. Vincent Massey, the National Council's second president, claimed that ". . . the moment it becomes institutionalized it dies."[3] There was a desire on the part of the Council to involve everyone in education. Council members also hoped to make education available to everyone by encouraging voluntary agencies to work for the achievement of this goal.[4]

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[2] National Council of Education, Retrospective; a Canadian Ideal in Education; Perspective (Winnipeg: NCE, [1922]), p. 7.

With such a broad definition of education, it is not surprising that the NCE should see cultural affairs as one of its main foci. For Ney, this was as important as the concern with moral education which had animated the founding members. He was convinced that the North American stress on intellectual pursuits and materialism had ". . . taken the Art out of life and made it a gloomy and uninteresting existence."[5] He hoped that the National Council of Education would be able to

> . . . make life a richer and more beautiful thing for the mass of men . . . [and] to bring back both art and laughter into the workers' lives of which they have been robbed, primarily by the mechanization of the life of the age.[6]

Music, literature, drama, dance, film and art increasingly came to play an important role in the NCE's attempt to enhance the education of the public.

This shift in orientation was facilitated by a change in the NCE's constitution. The delegates to the 1923 conference decided that henceforth Council members were to be selected by the executive rather than elected by the provincial delegates at the triennial conference. The

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[3] Vincent Massey, "Prologue" in Education and Life, op. cit., p. 5.

[4] At the 1926 Montreal Conference, Robert Falconer declared that "The essence of this conference is not executive nor legislative but stimulative." Raymond Walters, "The Canadian National Conferences on Education and Citizenship," School and Society, XXIII (April 24, 1926), p. 529.

[5] NCE, Retrospective. . ., p. 5.

[6] Ibid.

Council, now considerably reduced in size, no longer represented provincial interest groups but were appointed because of their positions in society.

These changes were extremely important. From this point onward, only the executive (which frequently meant Ney alone) controlled membership on the Council. Any opportunity of grassroots control disappeared. With it also went any assurance of enthusiasm for the body on the part of its members. Busy educational, political and industrial executives came to regard their membership on the NCE as another honorary title which carried no responsibility. Perhaps the most important aspect of this change was the destruction of the seeds of a provincial level to the NCE. Education in Canada was organized on a provincial basis yet the NCE continued to operate on the dominion and local levels only. In times of national crisis when the idea for the NCE was conceived this structure might have worked well. In peacetime, however, with the reassertion of provincial rights, this was a severe limitation in the NCE's organization.

There were even aspects of the NCE's national programme about which Ney was not enthusiastic. Although he made a few half-hearted attempts to interest the provinces in establishing a National Bureau of Education, he did not actively pursue its establishment. Nor did he approve of the proposed campaign to increase involvement in and support for education. He believed that the Council's overall goal of producing better citizens could be better achieved by the establishment of a national lectureship scheme.[7]

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[7] Richardson Archives (hereinafter abbreviated RA), National Council of Education Files, Letter, Frederick J. Ney, to James A. Richardson, December 11, 1935, p. 4.

Despite this, for the next three years, under the presidency of Vincent Massey, the NCE became Canada's most active and vibrant educational body. An attempt was made to assuage Quebec's fears of the Council, local committees were organized in major centres across the country, and the lectureship scheme brought out speakers who appealed to a broad range of Canadians. Under Massey's influence, schooling remained the focus of the Council and a textbook publishing campaign was commenced.

During his presidency Massey also attempted to focus the Council's attention on one of the continuing problems in Canadian life - the relations between French and English-speaking Canadians. Both the 1923 Toronto meeting and the one three years later in Montreal were organized along bilingual lines. Massey declared that the promotion of good relations between the two groups was ". . . one of the greatest aims of the National Council of Education."[8] This thrust was dropped, however, as soon as Massey ceased to be president of the Council.

With Massey's resignation, Ney was given virtually free rein in establishing goals for the NCE.[9] Under Ney, emphasis shifted almost completely away from schooling. Instead, the pro-imperial lectureship scheme and an increased stress on cultural activities became the focus of the Council's undertakings. Since during much of the 1930's the Council itself almost ceased to function, it was impossible to distinguish between the aims of the NCE and those of Major Ney.

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[8] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, p. 12.

[9] RA, NCE Files, Letter, J. C. Webster to E. A. Corbett, December 3, 1937.

Ney recognized this organizational weakness and attempted to initiate an extensive reform of the Council's structure. He hoped to persuade private industry to sponsor a series of directors who could assist him at NCE headquarters. He also hoped to have local committees placed on a firmer footing with paid memberships and designated responsibilities. By the time that this reform was proposed, depression-ridden industries refused to finance the central body and the local committees, after having established a pattern based on years of operations, refused to change. The National Council of Education was, in its final years of operation, almost totally dependent on Ney's enthusiasm and efforts.

Ney and the National Council

The leading figure in the history of the National Council of Education was undoubtedly Major Frederick J. Ney. There remains some doubt, however, whether he was the hero or the villain of the piece.

Ney was a dreamer who was willing to work toward the realization of his dreams. He said of his work with the NCE:

> . . . I accepted the Secretaryship of the Council and promised to devote two or three years to the work in the hope that I could make something of the enthusiasm for something better in Education, of which the 1919 Conference was symptomatic. I was much interested and at that time it did seem that there was a possibility for a new world order in the creation of which Education could play an immensely important part.[10]

His two or three years with the National Council stretched out to twenty-two years. Even after the Council collapsed, Ney spent the remaining thirty years of his life pursuing the same ideals.

Ney came to the Council with an outstanding record as an educator and a patriot. He had served the Empire with distinction as a teacher, had instituted an empire-wide system of teacher exchanges and had established an organization to provide Canadian teachers a first-hand knowledge of England before enlisting when the war broke out. Although he was so seriously wounded that he would require rehospitalization for lengthy periods for the rest of his life, he threw himself wholeheartedly into his new position with the National Council.

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[10] *Ibid.*, Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935, pp. 1-2.

Despite his own idealism, he felt that the legacy of the 1919 Winnipeg conference was little more than a series of impractical suggestions.[11] With this attitude in mind, Ney set out to transform the Council. He shifted the focus of the Council from schooling to adult education by implementing his vaunted National University of touring British lecturers and by down playing other aspects of the Council's activities.

Even when Vincent Massey attempted to put the NCE 'back on track' in the period from 1923 to 1925 by instituting a series of school-oriented activities, Ney proved to be out of step with Canadian thought. At the 1926 Montreal Conference, he attacked co-education and advocated the organization of Canadian schools on the English Public School model.[12] Canadian education, increasingly influenced by educational thought from south of the border, was not willing to adopt such a plan.

The selection of Sir Henry Cockshutt to succeed Vincent Massey as president in 1927 gave Ney _de facto_ control of the National Council: Cockshutt knew little and cared less about the organization. With Ney in charge, the National Council moved further and further away from the aims of its original members. The main focus of its activities came to be the lectureship scheme, a programme which promoted stronger ties with the rest of the Empire and strengthened Canadian resistance to increasing Americanization.

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[11] _Ibid_., p. 2.

[12] NCE, _Report of the Executive Secretary_, 1926 (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), pp. 12-13.

In order to undertake these activities, the NCE required adequate financing. In the early years the Canadian Rotary Clubs had provided most of the Council's funding. Ney, who had taken the position of executive secretary on the basis that he would not be involved in fundraising, accepted this arrangement. When he gained more power, Ney terminated that arrangement, fearing a reaction to having an American-based organization in charge of a body dedicated to strengthening ties with England.[13]

As the National Council moved away from the support by voluntary agencies, it became increasingly dependent on the support of the business community. This worked out well for the Council during the 1920's when the country was prosperous. Vincent Massey not only provided a major grant each year, he also persuaded other prominent individuals and corporations to contribute as well. James A. Richardson and Edward W. Beatty also played this dual role of contributor and fund raiser. The problem with this kind of financing became evident as the financial depression of the 1930's descended. The sources of funding dried up, leaving Richardson carrying the load of the Council.

The economic depression also affected Ney's personal finances. When he first accepted the position with the Council in 1920, he had refused to accept the full $6,000 annual salary - intending to spend only a few years with the new body.[14] When the depression set in, Ney was often forced to go for months on end with no salary and to forego many things that others considered as necessities.[15] By the mid-1930's he estimated that he had foregone $40,000 in unpaid salary and had been reduced to borrowing on his life insurance policies and had even asked Richardson to act as a guarantor on a $2,000 bank loan.[16] The final years of the Council's life were lived hand to mouth by both the Council and Ney.[17]

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[13] University of Western Ontario Archives, William Sherwood Fox Papers, 1910 - 1965, Letter Ney to Fox, January 14, 1927: telegram, Ney to Fox, January 14, 1927. Ney was objecting to Fox's plan to have the London, Ontario, Kiwanis Club handle the arrangements for the 1927 Choir Tour.

Despite this penurious condition, things might have gone well had it not been for two failures on Ney's part. One of these was his relationship with the grassroots membership. Ney assumed that others would always agree with his own goals. He thought in national and imperial terms and could not understand the reluctance of a local committee in a small Canadian centre to go along with them.

Ney had a tendency to make decisions and then to force them on local committees. When committees attempted to exercise their independence and make their own decisions, they frequently found them overturned by the executive secretary.[18] He did not appreciate the difficulty that local committees had in raising funds to support his schemes.

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[14] RA. op. cit., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935, p. 2.

[15] Ney was not wealthy but was not particularly interested in money. Lilian Watson in an interview on November 21, 1974, commented that he was careless of money and would live for months on end in hotels rather than renting a house or an appartment.

[16] RA, op. cit., Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935, p. 10.

[17] RA, op. cit., passim. See also Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives (Hereinafter abbreviated CPCA) E. W. Beatty Letterbook #153, Letter, Beatty to Richardson, July 30, 1936.

His communications with the local committees left a great deal to be desired. Many of his letters to them gave the impression that only their negativism was holding up unanimous consent for a scheme which was vital to the future of the empire.[19] At other times he was blunt and undiplomatic,[20] an approach almost guaranteed to alienate the volunteers who were so essential at the local level.

Such high-handed treatment caused one local president to complain:

> Your intimation that the local committee of the National Council of Education has dissolved has come to me as a bit of news.
>
> The fact that I have not been informed of this is symptomatic of what I fear to be the usual condition of the National Council of Education, so far as local interest is concerned. I have never been consulted about anything;- visitors have appeared here in the city without so much as an intimation of their presence. Consequently, it has been impossible to make any arrangements to have such visitors given a hearing or even to meeting with them.[21]

He was not alone, the local committees were looked upon by Ney as necessary distributors for his products of imperialism and culture, not as partners

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[18] E.g. The Halifax local committee decided not to sponsor the lectures by Caplin Wilson and Bryan Cook. In both cases Ney overode their decision and sent them anyway. Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Hereinafter abbreviated PANS) NCE, Halifax Local Committee Minutes, December 27, 1934; January 30, 1935.

[19] E.g. Alberta Department of Education, NCE Files, Letter, Ney to Premier William Aberart, February 10, 1939.

[20] E.g. "Your letter seems very much in line with the most of yours - critical but not particularly helpful . . . ." University of Alberta Archives, President's Files, 68-1-331, Letter, Ney to Keir, September 20, 1940.

[21] University of Saskatchewan Archives, Presidential Papers, Series B-117, NCE, 1938-41, Copy of letter, Thompson to Ney, January 16, 1939.

in the educational process.

Ney's other major failing was his infatuation with big names. In 1923 the NCE's constitution was amended, creating a smaller body the members of which were selected because of their positions in society. While the names of such an influential body of individuals were impressive on the Council's stationery, they did little for the organization. As the depression of the 1930's worsened, such a Council became somewhat of a liability. The public assumed that a body with such an executive could have no financial worries.[22] The Council could hardly advertise its insolvency.

Moreover, with the exception of Richardson and Beatty, few of the Council members had any interest in, or involvement with, the Council. Few meetings were held and there is no indication of members taking positive steps to influence policies. The only activities that Council members were involved with were financial drives and providing negative reactions to some of Ney's activities.

Because a system of strong local organizations was not cultivated and because the executive came to be largely composed of figureheads, the National Council of Education atrophied. Ney, ever the idealist, went off on a quixotic quest for a strengthened imperialism - pursuing other activities such as the Empire Youth Movement.

Imperialism, Nationalism and Continentalism

Following the American Revolutionary War, thousands of American colonists moved north to the remaining British colonies. There, defiantly continuing to proclaim their loyalty to the crown, they passed down their patriotic fervour like a legacy from father to son. It sustained the descendants of these United Empire Loyalists as they defended their independence from the United States during the War of 1812, the rebellions of 1837 and the Fenian raids of the 1860's.

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[22] RA, NCE Files, copy of letter, Ney to Beatty, February 6, 1934.

Although the colonies united in 1867 to form the Dominion of Canada, confederation did not automatically make British North Americans feel "Canadian". In the 1870's the Canada First Movement had attempted to generate some identifiable national sentiment but had influenced only a few of their fellow citizens. The poets of the 1890's, with poetry reflecting Canadian nature, had somewhat more success.[23] Only a few Canadians read poetry, however, and pro-British sentiment continued to hold sway.

In 1914 when the Great War broke out, hundreds of thousands of Canadians flocked to join the United Kingdom in her time of trial. Most English-speaking Canadians continued to view themselves as British.[24] Ironically, the war proved to be the beginning of the end of this sense of British patriotism in Canada.

Although Canadians had not chosen war as a means of nation building, it had the effect of welding the nation together. Prime Minister Robert Borden had initially been elected on a pro-British platform but was driven, by England's refusal to give the dominions a voice in the council of war, to adopt a more militantly nationalistic stance.[25] As a result of Canadian demands, Canadian forces were eventually allowed to go into combat as a unit under a Canadian commander. The spirit of nationalism which arose among the Canadian troops in the trenches affected Canadians from all parts of the Dominion and from all walks of life. Pro-British sentiments remained but a sense of Canadian identity emerged from the Canadian war effort.[26]

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[23] J. M. S. Careless, Canada: A Story of Challenge (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), p. 314.

[24] Arthur R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation: A History of Canada (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1957), p. 443.

[25] Donald Creighton, Canada's First Century (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972), p. 141.

This sense of nationalism gained wide approval but there was some disagreement about exactly how it should be put into effect.[27] There was general agreement in Canada, however, that some arrangement should be reached which would allow the various parts of the Empire to develop on their own and in their own way.[28] Canada stood at the edge of uncharted territory, unsure of the direction to take yet determined to press on and develop a new accommodation both with the United Kingdom and the rest of the world.

The war was only one factor in the development of a new spirit which swept Canada. New organizations sprang up which provided the country with a new sense of direction. Out of the social gospel teachings which had galvanized Protestantism around the turn of the century emerged the women's suffrage movement, the temperance movement and numerous assocations striving to improve the health and welfare of

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[26] "There had been Vimy, and I think that Canada as a nation was born on that fatal ridge. Canada had paid a terrible price for national sovereignty in the winnowing of the nations and never looked back." Lorne Pierce, An Editor's Creed (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960), p. 2.

[27] "To federal Liberals, particularly sensitive to the political isolation of Quebec, nationalism meant a growing independence from London. To English-speaking Conservatives it meant status well within the Empire." Kenneth McNaught, The Pelican History of Canada (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 219.

[28] Careless, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

Canadians. The fine arts also showed new life with the birth of the Canadian Authors Association, the formation of the Group of Seven[29] and the rapid spread of the Little Theatre Movement across the Dominion.

The National Council of Education emerged from this milieu as well. It grew out of the pain of the prolonged war in Europe and the realization that the British forces were not doing as well as had been anticipated. Its formation in 1919 was the expression of a desire, shared by many Canadians, to reform Canadian schools. They wished to marshall the resources of the schools to instill in the younger generation the same sense of identity, comradeship and self-sacrifice which had developed in the trenches. The founders, with ideas drawn from the social gospel thinking current at the time, hoped to use the public schools as an agency for the betterment of both the moral and mental well being of all of society.

The Canadian government had little time for such concerns; it focussed its attention on obtaining international recognition of Canada's new status. Government policies did not attempt to deal with the issue of national identity. There emerged in Canada in the 1920's four distinct orientations towards the question of identity, none of which had official sanction or encouragement from the government.

Many influential Canadians continued to treasure their links with the "mother country." Organizations such as the Empire Club, the Sons of England and the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire flourished during the 1920's. Although the Imperial Federation League had foundered, the traditional imperialist links with the British Isles still remained.

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[29] "At one level the renewed search for identity (at least, English-speaking Canadian identity) was best seen in the paintings of an immensely influential group of artists known as the Group of Seven. Intensely nationlist, this group went straight to the land, to the brilliant colours of the northern autumn, to the awful thrust of pre-cambrian rock against the purple darkness of northern lakes, and the primary patterns of the winter snow." McNaught, op. cit., pp. 238-39.

A second group, the internationalists, emerged in the aftermath of World War I. A small group, led by John W. Dafoe of the Winnipeg Free Press, they included in their ranks both pro- and anti-nationalists, both of whom were united in their support of the League of Nations. This group attracted a number of prominent individuals who felt that world peace could be assured by international understanding. As a result, they became quite influential in government circles, especially in the field of foreign policy.[30]

The third grouping, the continentalists, did not even see itself as a group. Although many Canadians had chosen to migrate to the United States and become American citizens, few of those who remained showed any desire to join Goldwin Smith in his campaign to unite the two countries. Canadians had long had a strained and strange relationship with the United States[31] - a relationship which grew stranger and more strained as improvements took place in transportation and communications. As contacts with the United States increased, Canadians developed an interest in American politics, sports and popular entertainers which rivaled those in their own land.[32] Over the years, the ranks of this group continued to grow as the interchange between the two countries increased and anti-American sentiment waned. Although Canadians had not set out to become Americanized, the continentalists gained in strength among ordinary citizens following World War I.[33]

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[30] Ramsay Cook with John T. Saywell and John Ricker, Canada: A Modern Study (Toronto/Vancouver: Clark, Irwin and Company, 1964), p. 211.

[31] Lower, op. cit., p. 441. "Jealousy and fear of the American, that estranged and too successful older brother, lies in the very origin of the English-speaking Canadian . . . ."

[32] McNaught, op. cit., p. 338.

The fourth group were the Canadian nationalists. In many parts of the country they were drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the academic and artistic communities. While they tended to overlap both the imperialist and internationlist groupings, they were distinctive. They had a pride in country which had been nourished by the Canadian achievements during the war and which was reinforced by the exploits of the bush pilots and other conquerors of the new northern frontiers.[34]

It was within this setting of competing ideas about Canada's future that the National Council of Education came into being. The initial plans of the Winnipeg Committee responsible for founding it included leadership by an outstanding educator from England and that it should be modeled after the American Bureau of Education. Its "Canadianess" was to reside in the intention for it to reform Canadian education.

Although the idea of educational reform drew support from all elements of Canadian society, details of the Winnipeg plan drew mixed reactions. Pro-imperialist residents of southern Ontario were enthusiastic enough about the plan to propose the establishment of a $2,000,000 trust fund to finance it.[35] Maritimers opposed both the plans to teach moral education in the public schools and the thought of an Englishman heading such a body. Quebeckers were distrustful of any national educational agency - the more so since it was to deal with moral education. Most of the west, caught up as it was with more pressing educational problems, seemed indifferent to the plan.

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[33] E.g. In 1939 Canada's education week was changed from February to November so as to coincide with the American observance in order to plan joint programming. "Education Week", Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Bulletin, November, 1939, p. 1.

[34] McNaught, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

Despite this, the tone of both the Winnipeg Conference and the Ottawa Council meeting were quite positive. Resolutions were passed and other steps were taken to reform Canadian schools. The tenor of these meetings was definitely nationalistic.

The appointment of Major Frederick Ney as executive secretary changed this. Ney, an Englishman, was an ardent supporter of the imperial connection. He actively pursued the goal of making the National Council serve as a vehicle to strengthen Canada's ties with the Empire.

The proposals which Ney brought forward regarding schooling were modeled after British developments. He proposed the formation of Parent Advisory Boards similar to those being introduced in England.[36] He advocated the establishment of a national children's magazine modeled after the one used in New Zealand in order to reduce the dependence on American material.[37] He also began a school music library in Winnipeg which loaned British music to all schools requesting it. He altered the somewhat nationalistic thrust of the conference and Council to reflect his own imperialist views.

Ney was not opposed to Canadian nationalism but he could not

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[35] By the time the Council was firmly established, the wartime enthusiasm had waned and the establishment of this fund was forgotten.

[36] NCE, Retrospective . . ., pp. 16-17.

[37] NCE, The National Council of Education: Its Constitution and Its Purposes (N.p.: n.pub., n.d.).

really understand it either. He saw it only in an imperial context. Canadians sensed the post-war spirit rather than defining it clearly.[38] They tended to see themselves more clearly in terms of what they were not than in what they were. Ney attempted to change this by providing a positive, pro-imperial definition to this vague sense of identity. The aims that he provided for the NCE were not, however, those which Canadians would have selected themselves.

Ney's efforts soon became visible in the undertakings of the Council. Although Ney distributed the two completed textbook surveys to Canadian educators and educational officials, he made no effort to promote them or their ideas at the 1923 Conference. In place of the one on literature texts which was never completed, Ney substituted Sir Henry Newbolt's Report on the teaching of English.[39] He gave no encouragement to the Canadianization of Canadian school texts.

His hand can also be seen in the selection of speakers for the 1923 conference in Toronto. Four of the speakers at the 1919 conference were drawn from the United States while only one came from England. At the 1923 conference arranged by Ney and Massey, no Americans were asked to contribute - all of the major figures were imported from England. Reform of Canadian education was still the Council's goal but it had come to be seen by the NCE only in the light of conformity to English standards.

Ney's other major undertaking was the establishment of the "National University", a lectureship scheme aimed at adult education in

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[38] ". . . like most things Canadian, nationalism was to be loosely defined - if indeed it had been defined at all." McNaught, _op_. _cit_., p. 219.

[39] RA, _NCE Files_, Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935, p. 4.

Canada. Although the Council declared its intention to put American lecturers on tour as well,[40] only one of the lecturers who toured Canada for the NCE was American, and he spoke on British topics. In the 1930's, as Canada became increasingly Americanized, Ney's lectureships were broadened to include speakers from Europe and other parts of the Empire, a move probably inspired by the waning of imperialism and by a desire to attract those who still continued to harbour some internationalist sentiments.

Other changes were also taking place in Canada which had an impact on the mood of society. During the 1920's Canada successfully asserted its autonomy, a fact that the United Kingdom legally approved by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. More importantly, however, was the recognition of Canada's new status by the United States. This recognition began to develop in the late 1920's and was finally completed during the Second World War.[41] This evolution of sovereignty occurred without the federal government becoming involved in the question of the nature of Canadian identity.

Although the Canadian government did not play a direct role in shaping the nation's views in this area, the outlook of Canada's leading politician did play an important role in shaping the country's destiny. William Lyon Mackenzie King, who dominated Canadian politics during the interwar period, opposed any extension of British imperial power and was indifferent to the internationalist aspirations of the League of Nations. On the other hand, he had received his graduate education in the

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[40] NCE, Report of the Retiring President, 1926, p. 6.

[41] W. L. Morton, The Canadian Identity (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 71.

United States and had worked there as an advisor to American industry during World War I when other Canadians were being infused with the spirit of nationalism.[42] It was under his leadership that Canada underwent what one historian called the "continentalist period"[43] during the 1920's and 1930's and what another has termed "the return to colonial status"[44] (only this time under American domination). Ney could hope for little assistance from this quarter to pursue his imperialist schemes.

King did not dominate this period completely, however. Between 1930 and 1935 Canada had an imperialist prime minister, Richard B. Bennett.[45] Bennett attempted both to revive the Empire and to relieve the depression by increasing imperial trade. He also assisted Ney's activities by providing funding for the activities of the National Council. These attempts were short-lived, however, and King's re-election brought a return to the increasing American economic and cultural penetration into Canada.[46]

Although American influence continued to grow, there was little evidence of any widespread desire on the part of Canadians to unite the two countries. The opposite was the case. While Canadians in the inter-war period shared the isolationist sentiments of the United States,[47] they continued to feel themselves to be different from Americans. Increasingly they came to see Canada in the role of interpreter between Britain and America,[48] the third side of the North Atlantic triangle.[49]

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[42] Creighton, op. cit., p. 182.

[43] Morton, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[44] Creighton, op. cit., p. 244.

[45] Creighton, op. cit., p. 202.

[46] Ibid., p. 181.

[47] McNaught, Pelican History, p. 26.

The optimistic internationalism which attracted attention in the 1920's led to the establishment of impressive organizations such as the League of Nations Society and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. These bodies, however, attracted support primarily from academics and failed to make any major inroads into Canadian public opinion. The rise of authoritarian dictatorships and the reduction of international trade during the depression increased the isolationism of Canadians. This greatly weakened the position of the internationalists in Canada.

Much of the enthusiasm which in the 1920's had gone into internationalist causes seemed to be diverted to the nationalist position in the 1930's. Improved transportation and communication links allowed Canadians to work together towards common goals. New organizations such as the Canadian Radio League and the Dominion Drama Festival strove with some effect to encourage and maintain Canadian cultural identity. By the late 1930's Canadian nationalism was at high tide.[50]

With the growth of this nationalism, interest in the Empire waned.[51] The depression forced opinion in both Canada and the United Kingdom to become more inward looking. In the face of a growing sense of national awareness and an increase in the degree of American influence the imperialist option in Canada lost its viability. The British Commonwealth of Nations retained much of the rhetoric of Empire but the fire seemed to go out of the movement.

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[48] NCE, Report of the Executive Secretary, 1926, p. 5.

[49] The Times, July 17, 1936, p. 9.

[50] Kenneth McNaught, "The 1930's," in J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown, eds., The Canadians 1867-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1967), p. 259.

[51] "In the acid of nationalism, the Empire dissolved into the Commonwealth." W. L. Morton, "The 1920's" in Careless and Brown, ibid., p. 232.

The National Council of Education valiantly maintained its attempts to influence Canadian opinion in favour of this position during the 1930's but was fighting a losing battle. Under Ney's leadership it had reduced its nationalist orientation in an attempt to promote closer ties with the Empire. By the mid 1930's the anti-Americanism inherent in this approach had cost the Council whatever support it had from ordinary Canadians, who were becoming increasingly Americanized, and from elements of the middle class, who were growing more nationalistic. By the outbreak of World War II, the National Council had grown irrelevant to all except its few industrial and political supporters.

Economics, Politics and National Goals

World War I moved Canada from being a colonial backwater into the mainstream of the twentieth century.[52] The demand for the weapons of war encouraged the rapid industrialization of what had been primarily a rural country. The need for the products of Canada's forests and fields resulted in a wartime "boom" for the country's economy.

The war also had its negative effects. It took 600,000 young men away from their homes for up to four years. Even many of those who returned unscathed chose not to go back to the way of life they had known. The conscription crisis and the Wartime Election Act had regenerated the ethnic tensions which were never far below the surface in Canada. Similar tensions were evident in the nation's public education system. The war led a number of provincial departments of education to tighten school attendance laws, include compulsory patriotic exercises and place restrictions on second languages. These moves offended some minorities.

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[52] Morton, "The 1920's", p. 208.

The cessation of hostilities brought on even more problems. A drop in the prices paid for farm products resulted in agrarian protest movements.[53] In Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario these protest groups formed political parties which overturned the provincial governments. Factory workers formed labour unions which protested low wages and poor working conditions. Industries closed, no longer required to produce the machines of war. Returned soldiers drifted into the cities, adding to the ranks of the unemployed and creating urban unrest.[54]

It was well into the next decade before conditions in Canada stabilized. By the mid-1920's, Canada was again experiencing a period of prosperity brought on by expansion in mining, forestry and secondary manufacturing.[55]

The control of this economic growth fell, constitutionally, under the jurisdiction of the provincial governments. As a result, these governments won back from Ottawa much of the power which had accrued to the central government during the war years. This increase in provincial power brought with it both support and lobby pressures from businessmen who were profiting from this development.

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[53] Cook, Saywell and Ricker, op. cit., pp. 184-85.

[54] Ibid., pp. 182-184.

[55] McNaught, The Pelican History of Canada, p. 237.

This increase in provincialization was not new. Decisions by the judicial committee of the Privy Council in London had, since the time of confederation, increased provincial powers at the expense of those of the federal government.[56] Provincial strength grew to the point that the 1927 Dominion-Provincial Conference saw the governments of Ontario and Quebec put forward a "compact theory" of confederation which would have given the provinces virtual autonomy.[57]

This was not the best time to be attempting to foster a national educational organization. The National Council of Education's early goals included the creation of a National Bureau of Education, the study of textbooks already in use and the development of a series of Canadian school books.

The National Bureau had originally been conceived of as a brains trust which would, with the financial support from an endowment fund, reform Canadian schooling. Although this proposal was treated with open suspicion by Quebec, it initially had some appeal to English-speaking Canadians when it was first proposed during the darkest hours of the war. By 1922, when the ministers of education met in Toronto, the plan received a cool reception even from the Anglophones. Although Ney made attempts to develop a modified version of the Bureau under provincial control, the provinces, riding the wave of increasing power, were not about to surrender any of their rights to a dominion-wide body, even one which they jointly controlled.

The text books met the same fate. The two surveys which were completed were ignored and the books which were published by the NCE never gained wide usage.

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[56] Ibid., p. 225.

[57] Ibid., p. 246.

The National Council did nothing to accommodate this growth in provincial strength. The 1923 conference, instead of establishing provincial chapters to deal with provincial departments of education even abolished the representatives of provincial organizations on the Council. The NCE put its faith in a dominion-wide body with heavy representation from politicians and major industrialists.

The federal government, meanwhile, had little interest in encroaching on provincial territory. The federal presence in education at this point was limited to collecting educational statistics and to the provision of funds to provinces for the support of agricultural and technical education. Ottawa was more interested, at that time, in wresting autonomy from Britain and in gaining recognition on the international level than in supporting a nationwide educational agency.

With a lack of support by either federal or provincial authorities for its plans, the National Council shifted its focus from schooling to adult education. The main thrust of the Council's efforts after 1926 was Major Ney's "National University". This system of touring lecturers was intended to assist Canadians in coming to realize their true destiny in the Empire. Ney was particularly concerned that the lower social classes and the smaller population centres should receive the benefits of this programme.

The businessmen who provided the financial backing for the NCE welcomed this concentration on adult education. These men had a vested interest in promoting attitudes among the Canadian population which would ensure their own success in the business world. Industrialists such as

Vincent Massey, William Bulman and Henry Cockshutt and speculative investors such as James A. Richardson and Edward W. Beatty stood to gain if Canadian independence from the United States were maintained and if ties with the rest of the Empire were strengthened. While for Ney the Council's activities were of a missionary nature, for these men the Council was also a means of attempting to ensure the continuance of their own prosperity.

The prosperity of the 1920's was marked by inequality. A few Canadians became very wealthy while a hard core of the population suffered from unemployment. The industrialized regions prospered but other areas, particularly the Maritimes, languished.[58] These inequalities became even more evident with the outbreak of the depression in 1929.

Large numbers of the newly urbanized working class suddenly found themselves impoverished. So did farmers, loggers and other primary producers whose income depended on foreign markets.[59] Those areas which had not shared in the wealth of the good years were especially hard hit.

While some middle-class Canadians suffered relatively little during the 1930's,[60] the country was deeply affected in many ways. The depression revealed nationwide weaknesses in the Canadian economic and political system, a revelation which began to break down the provincialism of the country. Many Canadians began to feel that the country as a whole should attempt to deal with major problems.[61]

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[58] Ibid., p. 237.

[59] Cook, Saywell and Ricker, op. cit., p. 191.

[60] McNaught, "The 1930's", p. 239.

[61] Ibid., p. 241.

One result of this was a growth in public ownership. Public ownership on a national scale in Canada began with the formation of the Canadian National Railway Company. This was not done by plan but by default.[62] Public ownership in Canada arose out of the conviction of the business class that government had the responsibility for providing both facilities and a climate to enhance capitalism. When private interests failed, or were unwilling to undertake certain tasks, the government was given this responsibility.[63]

By the 1930's, therefore, government-owned companies had gained a measure of acceptance. Provincially owned utilities such as telephone and hydro-electric companies were becoming commonplace. A national broadcasting system was established in 1932, the Bank of Canada in 1934, the Canadian Wheat Board (which had previously existed during the war) in 1935 and a national airline in 1937. While this swing toward public ownership received widespread public approval, many capitalists looked askance at this development.

The National Council, dependent for its continued existence on financial support from this group, was caught in a web of its own spinning. On the one hand were the academics and educators who came to the triennial conferences of the Council and who supported public ownership. On the other hand were the financial backers of the Council who opposed it. The Council, or at least Major Ney, decided to stick with the industrialists.

These industrialists themselves came under fire during the depression. The federal government's Select Committee on Price Spreads and

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[62] Morton, "The 1920's," p. 220.

[63] McNaught, Pelican History of Canada, p. 222.

Mass Buying was highly critical of the role that big business played in economic affairs.[64] Firms such as the T. Eaton Company which were named in the report were known backers of the National Council.

The election of Mackenzie King's Liberals in 1935 did not put an end to the depression but it did end the financial assistance that Bennett's government had been giving the NCE. That election also confirmed the multi-party system in Canada with the Liberals being elected with less than 50 percent of the popular vote. The rise of the socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation forced Mackenzie King's government to incorporate enough social reformism and nationalism into the Liberal platform to prevent the new party from making gains by using those issues.[65] This move strengthened both the Liberal Party and the centralist position at the same time.

Advocates of provincialism did not give up easily, however. King's government appointed the Rowell-Sirois Commission in 1937 to undertake a re-examination of the economic and financial basis of confederation. The commission met opposition from Ontario, Quebec and Alberta when it was undertaking its investigations. British Columbia joined in the criticism when the report was completed in 1940.[66] The 1941 Dominion-Provincial Conference, called to discuss the recommendations, collapsed when Ontario's Premier Mitchell Hepburn refused to continue discussions of any plan to strengthen the federal government.[67]

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[64] Creighton, op. cit., p. 216.

[65] McNaught, "The 1930's", pp. 253-54.

[66] Edgar McInnis, Canada: A Political and Social History (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp. 464-65.

[67] Ibid., p. 465.

The development of a unified Canadian outlook was a slow process. The combination of a federal government willing to take only those steps necessary to keep itself in power and an anti-nationalist alliance between self-interested provincial governments and investors (often not even Canadian) backing them stymied the full development of a Canadian national consciousness.[68]

During this federal-provincial struggle, the National Council, which had originated to unite Canadians, stood helpless on the sidelines. Alienated from Mackenzie King's government by its pro-British stance, cut off from meaningful contact with the provincial governments by its constitutional structure and leading a hand to mouth existence because of its dependence on voluntary contributions from businessmen hard pressed by the depression, the NCE was an organization with few friends. The death of James A. Richardson in 1939 virtually spelled the end of the Council.

The war, which broke out later that year, should have served to revive the Council. It didn't. It had the same initial impact as World War I had had twenty-five years earlier. Not only was there a wave of patriotism which began pulling the country together, it also provided stimulus for industry on a national scale. Again Canada began to think and act as a nation.

By this time, however, the National Council was no longer capable of attempting to take advantage of this mood. The Council had virtually ignored schooling during the 1930's and could not, therefore, benefit from the renewed demands for citizenship education. Its attempts to create a viable agency for adult education had been usurped by the fledgeling Canadian Association for Adult Education. Its attempts to promote an outmoded form of imperialism in the face of burgeonning nationalism and a pervasive continentalism cost it public support. The National Council of Education had become irrelevant to Canadian life.

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[68] McNaught, "The 1930's", p. 266.

Conclusions

In 1917 the future of Canada appeared threatened. The war was draining the country's vitality and the values to which the society had previously subscribed seemed to be eroding away. Leading figures in the English-speaking provinces agreed that concerned citizens should take steps to prevent the disintegration of the country. What Canada lacked, they felt, was a sense of identity to which all Canadians could subscribe.

Such an undertaking was no easy task. Linguistic and geographic divisions had created a tradition of regionalism in eastern Canada while the West, struggling to settle its new lands, was concentrating on developing institutions to serve its needs. Canadian federalism itself encouraged this segmentation by its division of powers and its guarantees of rights to minority groups.

The founders of the National Council hoped to overcome these divisions by providing a central focus for the country. They wished to develop a citizenry who, like the Americans to the south, shared a consensus as to what the country should mean. This was the task they set for the National Council.

The National Council of Education was a "successful failure." An assessment of the degree to which it achieved this overriding goal would be almost completely negative. Few of the original aims for the

Council survived the first decade of the Council's life. The concept of moral education was largely abandoned even before the 1919 conference was held and citizenship education which replaced it received almost equally short shrift. The textbook surveys undertaken by university committees and the textbooks published by the Council were, for the most part, ignored by the schools. The nationalistic resolutions which emerged from the 1919 conference and the 1920 NCE Ottawa meeting were hastily buried by Major Ney when he became executive secretary.

The only one of the original functions envisaged for the NCE which it continued to fulfill was that of an educational clearinghouse. The National Council was the only educational agency disseminating information on education in Canada as a whole until at least the late 1930's.[69]

Even if one judges the National Council from the perspective of Ney's desire to maintain and strengthen Canadian ties with the United Kingdom, it did not succeed. The steadv flow of British lecturers to Canada for nearly two decades did not perceptibly influence Canadians in their steady drift towards Americanization.

Despite the NCE's early work in educational radio broadcasting and the strong support for such work expressed at the 1929 conference, the Council did not retain control of this field. Ney made the mistake of backing private control of this new medium at a time when the country was moving toward public ownership of the main agency for educational work in broadcasting.

Even the field of adult education, to which the Council laid claim after 1923, was lost to its control. Ney's attempts in the 1930's to create a new constitution which would assist in the development of various aspects of this work failed, and the Canadian Association for Adult Education supplanted the Council.

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[69] "National Council of Education", Encyclopedia of Canada, 1936, IV, p. 380.

Such negative assessments of the National Council fail to take other factors into account. The founders of the body did not intend to create an organization which would take over control of Canadian education. They proposed the establishment of a body which would act as an educational catalyst. They wanted an agency which would stimulate Canadian educational thinking. This, to some extent, the Council achieved.

The four triennial conferences focussed national attention on education. In a country where education was, for the most part, dominated by local interests and controlled by locally elected school boards, this was a major accomplishment in itself. Although such meetings do not necessarily result in immediate action, they may play an important role in raising public awareness. It was this function which these major educational conferences succeeded in fulfilling.

In addition, the conferences passed a number of resolutions on pressing social issues. Important educational, civic, business and religious figures from all of Canada's regions had an opportunity at these gatherings to meet and discuss problems facing the country. As a result, at least three of the meetings produced recommendations regarding education, national awareness and culture which provided a reading of Canadian public opinion on these topics. The delegates were for the most part, however, ordinary citizens without the power to put their ideas into practice.

This could not be said for other NCE-sponsored gatherings.

The meetings of the ministers and deputy ministers of education in the early 1920's were the first ones ever held in Canada. Although no major legislation resulted from these meetings, they did set a precedent for similar meetings in the future.[70]

The Council must also be credited with some measure of success for its work in the school textbook field. Some Canadian academics and scholars were induced to write books aimed at improving education and at least some of these books gained acceptance in Canadian classrooms.

The National Council also achieved success in the area of educational broadcasting. Although the responsibility for this activity ultimately passed into other hands, the Council was a pioneer in this field. The educational broadcasts of Mercer in Halifax and Campbell and Bovey in Montreal were well received by the public and widely copied by other groups entering the field.

The Council's greatest achievement was in the area of adult education. It provided the first attempt to create an organized system of adult education in Canada. The planning and execution of the work of the NCE in this field were not rigidly structured and institutionalized: it was education in the broad sense of the word. Through Ney's efforts, lecturers, musicians, dancers, singers, dramatists and physical educators gave of their time to acquaint Canadians with a world hitherto unavailable to them. No one convocated from Ney's National University, but it did provide an education for those who wished to attend.

It is impossible to measure the impact of Ney's itinerant educators but even the rival Canadian Association for Adult Education paid tribute to its work in the field of adult education.[71] The Council can be credited with having an inspirational impact on individuals and with stimulating activity and innovation in Canadian society as a whole.

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[70] They also paved the way, almost half a century later, for the formation of the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education.

The Council did not, however, accomplish what its founders had hoped that it would. Canada remained a highly regionalized country with distinctive minority cultures, many of which pre-dated confederation. The idea of creating a unified nation state failed to gain the support of Canadians.

Part of the reason for this failure, however, was a lack of common purpose. Over the twenty-three years of its existence, the Council drew support from imperialists, nationalists and internationalists. Each of these groups wished to see the country united, and each hoped to use the Council to assist in the achievement of its own ends. The aims and activities of the Council altered as competing interests vied for power and as the membership of the executive changed. There was often strong disagreement amongst Council members over the objectives that the

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[71] While the results of the work of the National Council of Education are somewhat difficult to place one's finger on, they have undoubtedly been important and the cumulative effect is exceedingly great. The changes in the syllabuses of physical training now taking place throughout Canada can be directly traced to the visits of Mr. Jarman, Mr. Niels Bukh and Mr. Kennedy. The renascence in music in Canada can be attributed to the visits of choristers and of musicians such as Gustav Holst and Mr. Surette. But if the direct results are difficult to trace, the inspiration given by the army of eminent men and women that the National Council has been instrumental in bringing to Canada, has been profound. Glimpses of something greater in education than we now possess have been made possible, and some of our satisfied smugness has already disappeared. For these things, some of the greatest in Adult Education, Canada undoubtedly owes an enormous debt of gratitude to the National Council of Education. Preliminary report of the Canadian Association for Adult Education quoted in Richardson Archives, National Council of Education Files, Letter, Ney to Richardson, December 11, 1935, p. 5.

Council should pursue.

These groupings and divisions were representative of Canada, and developments within the National Council paralleled those in the larger society. As conditions changed during the inter-war period, the relative strength of these groups altered as well. Many of Canada's ties with the United Kingdom atrophied and attempts to revive them failed. Within the National Council the power exercised by the strongly pro-British executive secretary, Major Ney, eventually alienated the other groups. This left the Council cut off from the mainstream of Canadian thought.

While Canada rejected the revival of strong imperial bonds, it took few steps toward creating or even ensuring the development of a distinctive national culture. The National Council, like the country which gave rise to it, was unable to agree on a common course of action in the field of cultural identity. The essence of Canada was diversity and attempts by the National Council of Education to bring about uniformity met with failure.

It was a failure, however, which contained a measure of success. The Winnipeg organizers had hoped to inspire Canadians to develop educational institutions which would create better Canadians. Whether or not the quality of Canadians improved, the Council did provide an inspiration and a stimulation for Canadian life.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

MEMORANDUM OF A PLAN TO ORGANIZE THE WORK OF MORAL INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS[1]

The conviction that moral and religious education should go hand in hand with secular instruction to the end that education should in reality be the foundation of character is practically universal. The consideration of how this may be accomplished is, however, approached from so many angles and so confused by personal bias and prejudice that no energetic and general effort has been made to give effect to this belief. In our own country, with its varying population, with diverse traditions and aspirations, any universal action is beset with peculiar difficulties. The solution of the problem has been approached here and there at various times by men who felt the need but whose energies were absorbed by other interests, and except so far as the general sentiment of the community and the general standard of morality has affected the personnel of the teachers of Canada, but little progress has been made. The profound importance of the issues involved in their effect on social and national life calls for the enlistment of men of the best intellect and the highest spiritual and moral life in the Empire under conditions that will set their whole energy free from other claims and make their abilities available for the consideration of this question.

To secure such talent it would seem to be necessary to establish a foundation to be generously endowed, under which men of outstanding moral earnestness, spiritual insight and wide learning could be persuaded to devote their lives to this work. These men whose attainments and abilities would be such as to secure world wide recognition would be a permanent committee of inquiry with funds at their disposal to enable them to enlist the services of specialists in any department of learning they might deem necessary so that the great storehouses of knowledge might be made available for the purposes of the foundation. They would be hampered in their work by no commercial consideration, political purpose or sectarian aim. THEIR ONE OBJECT would be to search for and systematize the best means of weaving into the very texture of the life and character of the growing child the teachings of the Great Master of Life and to publish the result of their investigations for the use of the man and women in the schools.

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[1] Provincial Archives of Ontario, H. J. Cody Papers, V Education, Special Papers, Religious education, April, 1917 [date handwritten].

To give a single illustration with the above object such a foundation would be able to ransack all literature for the best material for school readers and to secure the best talent for the compilation and arrangement of the same and without any reference to cost or profit give their work free from any copyright charge to all Canada; as a permanent organization they would criticize, revise and amend their own work from time to time in the light of experience, observe its operation in the schools and give the results of its use over wide areas.

But the work of such a foundation would not end with the systemtizing of material for instruction and investigation of methods of presentation. Beginning with the child in school it would examine and classify all the influences that operate upon him to affect character. It would collect and digest the various organized attempts to educate for character. It would profoundly affect the preparation of teachers, guide their effort and increase their power for service and secure a social recognition for service given.

Such a court of last resort would speak with authority, would unify the purpose of the schools of our country and help them to become a single force moving irresistibly towards the righteousness that exalteth a people.

This is an outline of the general conception, the details of which have to be worked out. If it is held to be feasible the first step would be to bring together men eminent in the field of moral and religious education to consult and advise as to the possibilities of the plan and the best method of procedure. The men chosen for consultation should be so prominent in their respective fields that they would be recognized as authorities throughout the English-speaking world.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Resolutions[1]

EDUCATION PROGRESS

THAT the whole question of the best methods of carrying out the purposes of the Conference be referred to the National Council for their fullest considerations and such action as they deem wise to take. Said action to be reported upon to the next meeting of the Conference.

THAT for purposes of educational investigation and as a clearing house for educational data, a NATIONAL BUREAU be established under the direction of the National Council of the Conference, and that such Bureau be maintained by voluntary support and such financial assistance as may be given by Provincial and Dominion Governments without any restrictions as to policy.

CHARACTER EDUCATION

THAT this Conference puts itself on record as recognizing the necessity for the deepening and strengthening of the moral and spiritual factors in our National Education, alike in the School, the Church and the Home, and instructs the newly appointed National Council to make a consideration of the problem here involved a first charge upon its deliberations.

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[1] Resolutions: Adopted by the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship, October 20, 21, 22, 1919 Winnipeg (N.p.: n.pub., n.d.).

THAT this Conference recognizing that development of child morality is largely achieved through the objective side of his nature, expresses its hearty approval of all those auxiliary agencies, such as the Boys' Brigade, The Boy Scouts, The Cadet Corps, the Canadian Standard Efficiency Training, and the Canadian Girls in Training, the Girl Guides and the Little Mothers' League, which aid in developing among children of school age physical fitness and the spirit of service and citizenship in the community.

BELIEVING that the moral education of the youth of our country must depend on the development of sound physical bodies, the Conference desires to express its conviction that every possible means should be taken for safeguarding and promoting the health of the children in all parts of the country. To this end we believe that a complete system of medical and dental inspection under competent doctors and nurses should be organized in every Province for both rural and urban schools; also that provision should be made for the adequate and specific training of all teachers in the principles of hygiene, particularly applied to the conditions of school life.

THAT inasmuch as the prevailing emphasis on competitive methods in industry and commerce has tended to a weakening of the sense of solidarity among the citizens of Canada, and the perversion of motive resulting from undue regard to the rewards of work as compared with interest in the service rendered, this Conference recommends that all our schools promote by every reasonable means the spirit and practice of co-operative effort both in team-games and in class work.

THAT this Conference expresses its conviction that provision should be made for free and compulsory education up to the age of 16 years and part-time education for all the youth of Canada up to the age of eighteen.

WHEREAS on account of the waste of the recent war and the demands of the present task of reconstruction the conservation of the youth of our country is of such vital importance; Resolved that this National Conference on Character Education expresses its conviction that provisions for state aid should be made for parents who would otherwise be forced through economic necessity to take their children away from school during the compulsory period;

AND further, in the opinion of this Conference, there should be Factory Acts or other legal enactments rigidly enforced in every Province prohibiting the employment of children under the age of compulsory school attendance.

THAT inasmuch as education cannot fulfil its proper function without the playgrounds and equipment suitable for the development of organized play, this Conference calls the attention of our Canadian School authorities to the fact that many of our school grounds are inadequate to this purpose.

THAT this Conference having regard to the fact that Canada is largely an agricultural country, expresses its conviction that it is in the best interests of the whole country that a high type of rural schools be developed; AND THAT as a means to this end continuation work in rural schools be encouraged and every inducement be offered to rural pupils to attend these schools until such time as attendance to the age of 16 years be made compulsory.

WHEREAS the effect of the ~~Moving~~ Picture on school children is incalculably powerful for good or evil, and whereas much of what is now offered as entertainment is based upon suggestions that tend to familiarize the minds of children with situations that are sensational and frequently immoral and vulgar;

THEREFORE be it resolved that this Conference direct attention to the vital necessity of developing an active public opinion, demonstrated by attendance at theatres, for the support of good pictures -- which can only be hoped for when it becomes good business to exhibit such pictures; and also for the strengthening of the hands of the various boards of censorship in their efforts to raise the standard of the Moving Picture industry; and that every effort be made to secure films depicting Canadian and British life and sentiment.

WHEREAS it has been conclusively shown that posters and advertisements of a suggestive and immoral nature are used to attract attendance to performances and moving pictures otherwise comparatively harmless; be it resolved that this Conference urge a strict censorship of posters and advertisements.

THE TEACHING PROFESSION

THIS Conference records its opinion that to obtain the highest educational results for our people the community must provide enlarged opportunity for the education and training of teachers, raise the standard of education for admission to the teaching profession, taking measures at the same time to attract men and women of special gifts for this high service by raising the social status of the teachers and providing a scale of remuneration so liberal as to free them from economic anxiety.

THAT having regard to the principal [sic] of fair and open discussion as a fundamental principle of democracy, the Conference urges upon all bodies in whom is vested the control of educational affairs the necessity of dealing in a frank and public manner with cases involving the reduction in rank or dismissal of teachers or instructors under their control.

CANADIANIZATION

THAT this Conference recommend to the Federal Government the adoption of a distinctive Canadian flag.

THAT with a view to establishing a more general appreciation of the dignity and responsibilities of Canadian Citizenship the Conference recommends that under the auspices of the National Government an appropriate function be held in each community preferably on Dominion Day in each year for the Public reception into citizenship of those who have met all the conditions of naturalization..

THAT to the end that both English and French speaking Canadians may not continue to lack interpreters of the good will of each to the other, the study of both English and French should be encouraged in all Canadian Universities.

WHEREAS under the Canadian constitution the administration of Public education is assigned to the Provinces;

AND WHEREAS in pursuance of policies approved by the Parliament of this Dominion and carried into effect by Federal Governments, great bodies of immigrants unfamiliar with Canadian and British institutions and ideals have been settled in various parts of Canada;

AND WHEREAS the initiation of these new Canadians into efficient Canadian citizenship is a National problem of vital concern to all Canada;

AND WHEREAS the solution of the problem through the maintenance of the propaganda essential to the adequate support of this great National enterprise, through the provision of such special equipment as the work demands and through supplying teachers who are expert settlement workers willing to make their home in these immigrant settlements for prolonged periods calls for a financial support difficult if not impossible for Provincial revenues, unaided, adequately to support;

THEREFORE be it resolved that it is the duty of the Federal Government to assume without avoidable delay its fair share in the financial burden incidental to the Canadianizing of an immigrant population by providing suitable special Dominion grants to be expended and administered by the Provincial Government concerned.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

MEMBERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION, 1920[1]

BRITISH COLUMBIA

William H. Vance
W. H. Leckie
Harry Charlesworth
Mrs. R. C. Boyle
John Sully

ALBERTA

Mrs. L. C. McKinney
Henry Wise Wood
Alexander Ross
William Grant Carpenter
J. T. J. Collisson
Dr. Arthur M. Scott

SASKATCHEWAN

J. A. Snell
James F. Bryant
John Allan Maharg
Charles M. Hamilton
Jean Browne
James T. M. Anderson

MANITOBA

William John Bulman
William Frederick Osborne
Margaret McWilliams
Daniel McIntyre
E. Leslie Pidgeon
William Iverach

ONTARIO

Henry John Cody
Sir John Eaton
Tom Moore
Sir Robert Falconer
Herbert T. J. Coleman
Helen MacMurchy
W. H. Sedgwick

QUEBEC

Athanase David
Howard Murray
William Birks
Cyrille Delage
George E. Parmalee
Carrie M. Derick
Sir George Garneau

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[1] *Resolutions: Adopted by the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship, October 20, 21, 22, 1919* Winnipeg (N.p.: n.pub., n.d.).

NOVA SCOTIA

Dr. Soloan	Mrs. Sexton
Charles J. Burchell	James J. Tompkins

John T. Joy

NEW BRUNSWICK

John Richardson	F. Peacock
Josiah Wood	Mrs. James F. Robertson

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Dr. McLellan	S. E. Robertson
J. O. Hyndman	Carrie Ellen Holman

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE 1919 WINNIPEG CONFERENCE[1]

Statement of Cash Receipts and Payment

From Organization (1917) to 30th November, 1919

Cash Receipts:		
Contributions per Schedule:		
Organizers' Contributions	$ 5,000.00	
Sundry	4,505.75	
Rotary	27,570.13	
Total		$37,075.88
Cash Payments:		
Travelling Expenses in Organization	$ 2,286.05	
Salary: General Secretary	4,017,25	
Sundry Office	2,616.75	
Printing and Stationery	4,537.64	
Postage and Express	1,433.10	
Telegrams	344.05	
Office Rent	534.00	
Advertising	5,534.67	
Miscellaneous Office Expenses	248.00	
Expenses of Convention Speakers	4,070.15	
Expenses at Convention Hall	705.20	
Total		$26,326.86
Balance		$10,749.02
Balance at Bank	$10,608.97	
Petty Cash on Hand	140.05	
		$10,749.02

I have audited the cash account of the National Conference on

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[1] National Council of Education, Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship (Winnipeg: National Council of Education, 1919), pp. 10-12.

Education from its Organization from 1937 to 30th November, 1919, and the foregoing statement of Cash Receipts and Payments is in my opinion, a full and complete summary of all cash transactions.

Hubert Reade,

Chartered Accountant

Reconciliation of Bank Account

30th November, 1919

Balance per Cash Statement	$10,608.97
Add:	
Cheques Outstanding	3.00
	45.00
	10.50
	2.00
	30.00
	22.25
	16.70
	6.50
	26.95
	33.75
	35.00
	75.00
Balance per Bank Statement	$10,916.12

Subscriptions Received After Completion of Audit

Maharg, J. A., Moose Jaw	$250.00	
Enderton, C. H. Winnipeg	100.00	
Hall, E. E.	200.00	
Pace, F. W.	100.00	
		$650.00

Schedule Of Contributions

30th November, 1919

Organizers' Contributions:		
Aikins, Sir James	$ 1,000.00	
Bull, M.	1,000.00	
Bulman, W. J.	1,000.00	
Nanton, Sir Augustus	1,000.00	
Smith, S.	1,000.00	
Total Organizers'		$5,000.00
Rotary Contributions:		
Charlottetown Club	$ 360.00	
Calgary Club	2,380.00	
Edmonton Club	3,003.70	
Fort William Club	1,000.00	
Halifax Club	1,076.50	
Hamilton Club	3,000.00	
Lethbridge Club	1,000.00	
London Club	575.10	
Medicine Hat Club	1,000.00	
Ottawa Club	503.00	
Saskatoon Club	1,000.00	
Sault St. Marie Club	428.00	
Victoria Club	2,000.00	
Winnipeg Club (including Scottish Co-operative Society, per Mr. Geo. Fisher, $244.00).	10,243.83	
Total Rotary		$27,570.13
Sundry Contributions:		
Barr, G. H.	$ 100.00	
Birks & Sons	100.00	
Cockshutt Plow Company	200.00	
Craig, R. W.	100.00	
Crowe, G. R.	200.00	
Cushman Motor Company	25.00	
Eaton, R. Y.	100.00	
Eaton Company, T.	1,000.00	
Enderton, C. H.	100.00	
Flavelle, J. D.	250.00	
Finklestein, M.J.	100.00	
Garvin, M. H.	100.00	

Guest Fish Company	$ 100.00
Matheson, W. A.	500.00
McKercher, D. W.	100.00
Oldfield, Kirby & Gardner	120.75
Pearson, William	50.00
Rannard, C. F.	100.00
Robertson, J. P.	10.00
Stephens Company, G. F.	200.00
Stovel Company	100.00
Taylor, Jno. M.	500.00
Tucker, H. M.	100.00
Tupper, W. J.	100.00
Woods Limited, Walter	50.00
Wilson, R. R.	100.00

Total Sundry.................. $4,505.75

Total Contributions........... $37,075.88

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION PROPOSALS REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION[1]

The following alternative suggestions are made, either of which it may be urged, solves the problem of control since in neither case is it vested other than in the Provinces in joint responsibility:

a. A Bureau administered by a Departmental Committee consisting of the Deputy Ministers of Education of each Province, this Committee to include both the French and English Deputy Minister of Education for the Province of Quebec. This Committee should function as an integral part of the National Council of Education, or as an entirely separate body.

The Bureau itself would, of course, act entirely as a co-ordinating, co-operative organisation designed for the purpose of securing information on educational development in all parts of the world, and making it readily available to the Department of Education of the Dominion.

In the event of the Bureau being administered by a Departmental Committee, it is assumed that the entire cost of organisation and operation would be borne by the Provinces, and, with the consent of the Provinces, by the Dominion, and would act independently of the Council.

b. Under a reorganised Council in which the Departments of Education and the Governments of the Provinces would be adequately represented the administration of the Bureau might well form a part of the duties of the Council itself, to the general support of which it is hoped Provincial grants would be forthcoming.

It is suggested that the advantage of this alternative scheme lies chiefly in the fact that through the Council and its other activities, Education can with greater facility be kept before the public mind by acting as a liaison as it were, between the constituted educational authorities and the community. It further has the advantage of making the

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[1] National Council of Education Bulletin No. 1 (N.p.: n.pub., n.d.) pp. 14-15.

National Lectureship Scheme and such other educational work of a national nature which the Council may undertake, more responsive to the needs and wishes of the Bureau, and through the Bureau, the respective Departments of Education.

In view of the need of public enthusiasm for education and a more enlightened attitude of mind on the nation's educational needs, it is considered that a greater measure of assistance and interest can be secured through a quasi-official public body than through a purely official medium in which constant change of opinion through sectional influences is reflected.

c. Should it be decided to constitute the Bureau as outlined in paragraph b. as an integral part of the Council, a special Committee of Administration is suggested, of which the Deputy Ministers and the Superintendents of Education would be members, ex-officio, and which should be as representative of both English and French-speaking Canada and the two great branches of the Christian religion as possible.

Whichever of the above proposals is or might be adopted, it is suggested that as an initial step, the Bureau should be organised with a staff consisting of a Director assisted by both an English-speaking and a French-speaking Secretary, together with the necessary office staff.

The Director of the Bureau should be an eminent educationist, experienced in all branches of Education, a man of great personality and vision to be nominated by the Departments of Education. He should, undoubtedly be able to address audiences in both the English and French languages. The two Secretaries should be men of considerable educational experiences in Canada, the English Secretary to be appointed by the Director himself, the French, it might with every confidence and to advantage be conceded, should be nominated by the Province of Quebec.

FUNCTIONS OF THE BUREAU

This "Canadian Bureau of Educational Enquiry and Report" would in no sense be a Federal Institution, and, as in the case of the Bureau of Education at Washington, it would as already stated, have no administrative functions whatever. These have, in a general way already been indicated, but it may here be convenient to briefly summarize these in the form presented at the meeting of Deputy Ministers and Superintendents of Education at Quebec in November, 1919. [sic]

1. The collection and compilation of reports on Educational problems and development in the Provinces of the Dominion, throughout the British Empire and other parts of the world.

2. Educational research both on the initiative of the National Council and that of the various Departments of Education as desired.

3. The publication of such literature, leaflets, etc., on educational topics as may be considered of Dominion-side interest.

4. The publication of such reports, Departmental regulations, etc., which by unanimous agreement of the Provinces can with advantage to the public and the administration of Education in the Dominion be compiled and aggregated under one cover for the use of all.

5. Such other functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the unanimous concurrence of the Provincial Departments of Education.

LOCATION OF THE BUREAU

Various suggestions have been received from time to time, but in the question of locality the Council has no proposal to make, being content to leave that entirely to the decision of the Provinces. Four places it is generally conceded are deserving of special consideration,--Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. Each has its particular claim and once agreement in the establishment of the Bureau itself as reached, it should not be difficult to decide upon its site.

MAINTENANCE

The question of grants by the respective Provinces has not yet been adequately discussed, but in the meantime tentative suggestions are made as follows:--

Ontario and Quebec..............	$5,000.	each per annum
Four Western Provinces..........	2,000.	each per annum
New Brunswick and Nova Scotia...	1,000.	each per annum
Prince Edward Island...........	250.	per annum

By agreement among the Provinces it is assumed that a grant could be made available by the Dominion Government which might be expected to be not less than $20,000. per annum, making in all a suggested total of $40,250.00.

The amount estimated would probably be sufficient to maintain the Bureau in its earlier years of development. Constituted as a purely English-speaking organization, it would doubtless cost less. But there is every reason to hope that Quebec will, once convinced that no interference with Provincial rights is even dreamed of, co-operate with the other Provinces, so that equal provision may be made for the two languages of the Dominion. Only by such a provision could the Bureau be regarded as fulfilling the hopes of its advocates as a National Agency for National Unity.

APPENDIX F

APPENDIX F

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE TORONTO NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE IN 1923[1]

1. Moved by W. L. Grant, Seconded by Mrs. Porter,

THAT this Conference regrets the small amount of time given to it for discussion of the papers and of the resolutions submitted, and strongly urge the Committee in charge of the next Conference to allow more time at its meetings for such discussions.

2. Moved by Major Fred J. Ney, Seconded by Col. Fraser,

WHEREAS the supreme purpose of education is the formation of character through training, and self training in the light of a spiritual ideal of moral freedom and of personal service for the community;

AND WHEREAS every effort should be made, by public authority, by the Churches, by associations which are formed by public welfare, and by individual citizens, to secure for all human beings a training in all that is proper to our common humanity;

AND WHEREAS the healthy development and exercise of the body, the gymnastic of the mind, and the culture of the spirit are indispensable parts of such a training;
This Conference is convinced that the provision of opportunities for inspiring and effective education is of capital importance in national policy, and not only one of the most indispensable, but also directly and indirectly one of the most remunerative, forms of public effort.

3. Moved by Mrs. Stevens, Seconded by Dr. J. T. M. Anderson,

WHEREAS the last Canadian Census contained no provision for the registration of Canadian Nationality, thus compelling persons whose ancestors for generations were Canadian born to give their nationality as other than Canadian;

AND WHEREAS in the registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths there is no provision made for registration of Canadian Nationality;

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[1] J. A. Dale, ed. Education and Life. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1924), pp. 307-312.

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the National Conference of Education and Citizenship in Convention here assembled is of the opinion that the best interests of Canada within the British Commonwealth can best be served by recognition of a Canadian Nationality, and provision made in our Statutes for the Registration of a distinct Canadian Citizenship, when so desired by a Citizen.

4. Moved by Herbert O. Frind, and duly seconded,

WHEREAS it would seem to be vital in connection with the creating of a National Policy in Education to establish contact with such organizations as could and would co-operate with the National Council:
It is herewith suggested that a special and general committee be appointed to formulate plans for the following purposes:

(1) To enable the Local Committees to encourage and develop the creation of educational committees in existing organizations.

(2) To place at the disposal of such committees whatever services the members of the Local Committees can render, and possibly to strengthen the Local Committees with this purpose in view.

(3) To establish contact between the Central Council and such new Committees, for the purpose of enabling them to obtain access to such expert advice as may be obtainable directly or from other Local Committees, and to make available to them the benefits of research along special lines of particular interest to them.

(4) To consider adult education, and the training of civic administrators and officials, with the idea of creating national standards and of raising the status of service to that of other professions wherever possible.

(5) To consider how to make available to all sections of Canada the experiences of civic government.

(6) To report on the possibility of procuring at the earliest date such comprehensive and detailed data as would assist the citizen and investigator to obtain a truer comprehension of the financial cost of minimum standard requirements in education.

(7) To consider the question of equalization among the various Provinces of the costs of Canadianization and Naturalization.

(8) To consider facilities and opportunities for the recognition of possibly particular and valuable contributions to National Development, on the part of naturalized citizens, and those of native birth but foreign descent.

(9) To consider the possibility of a national policy in Canadianization and naturalization which might assist such Provinces as cannot assure adequate results.

(10) To consider the possibility of assistance to such Provinces as have exceptional and pressing problems in education beyond their ability to deal with, yet which might be considered of vital interest to the whole Dominion.

(11) To consider assistance in developing in the West contact between education and business and industry, along the lines obtained in Eastern Canada, and

(12) Assistance also towards developing contact between municipal government and local educational authorities and Universities, more particularly in the West.

5. Moved by Major Fred J. Ney, Seconded by Dr. J. S. Gordon.

WHEREAS it is considered that one of the primary objects of education is inculcation of an abiding love of literature, and a desire for reading; this Conference is of the opinion that the publication of a Children's Magazine, wide in its appeal to the imagination of youth, and highly directive in the field of literature, would be most effective in the stimulation of a National consciousness and the development of the ideals of citizenship.

6. Moved by Dr. A. M. Scott, Seconded by Dr. Daniel McIntyre,

THAT this Conference reaffirms the resolution passed at the Winnipeg Conference in 1919 in relation to the formation of an Educational Bureau under interprovincial control and instructs the incoming Executive to continue its negotiations for the purpose of bringing such a bureau into existence.

7. Moved by Dr. J. S. Gordon, and duly seconded,

WHEREAS the National Educational Association of the United States are planning a world Conference on Educational to be held in Oakland, San Francisco, June 28th to July 6th, 1923, to promote friendship, justice, and good will among the nations of the earth, therefore, be it resolved, that this Conference instruct the incoming Executive to arrange that as adequate representation as possible be sent from Canada.

8. Moved by Jas. T. Gunn, Seconded by W. L. Grant,

THAT this Conference affirms its approval of Adult Education, and commends the growing success throughout the Dominion of the Workers' Educational Movements, where there is an increasing and real co-operation between Learning and Labour, in order that the cultural inheritance of our civilization may be brought into the service of labour.

9. Moved by A. Monro Grier, Seconded by General Sir Wm. Otter,

THAT the National Conference on Education and Citizenship desires

(1) To place on record its heartfelt approval of the action of the Provinces of the Dominion in making provisions for the teaching of First Aid to Boys and Home Nursing for Girls in certain of their schools, and

(2) To express its sincere hope that steps will be taken in each and all of the Provinces whereby teaching of a like kind in all schools also may be secured.

10. Moved by Dr. Kirby, and duly seconded,

THAT this Conference extend its heartfelt thanks

(1) To all those who have contributed to the programme and expecially to the distinguished visitors from France and from the British Dominions overseas.

(2) To Lieut.-General Sir Robert Baden-Powell and Lady Baden-Powell, Sir Michael Sadler and Sir Henry Newbolt for their great generosity in inaugurating the lecture course instituted by the Council. Canada owes them a debt it can never repay.

(3) To the Committees acting under the leadership of Mr. Vincent Massey. To the unwearied effort of these Committees the Conference owes the success of the present meeting.

(4) To the University of Toronto for its generosity and its whol hearted sympathy and assistance.

(5) To the Rotary Clubs of Canada, and the Governments of Ontario and Manitoba, for their generous financial assistance, and to Dr. Leslie Pidgeon for all the effort he has put forth to secure the funds required.

(6) To the various organizations and to the citizens of Toronto who have so graciously entertained the members of the Conference in so many ways.

(7) To the retiring president, Mr. W. J. Bulman of Winnipeg for his example and inspiration. Education in Canada has already received new meaning as the result of continued emphasis upon the ideas of character and citizenship.

(8) To the railways for their co-operation in providing satisfactory transportation to and from the Conference, and to the Press for the full and fair reports which they have given.

THAT the Conference expresses its deep appreciation of the services of the General Secretary, Major Fred J. Ney. His energy, optimisim and courtesy have enabled him to overcome difficulties that to most people would have been insuperable.

APPENDIX G

APPENDIX G

REORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION APPROVED AT THE TORONTO NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE IN 1923[1]

1. That the National Conference on Education and Citizenship be continued as a triennial gathering devoted to the furtherance, in all possible ways, of the interests which the name implies.

2. That the reconstitution of the National Council be as follows: -

(a) Its members shall consist of the Executive Committee to be hereinafter described and the presidents (or chairmen) of the co-operating local committees throughout the Dominion.

By "local committee" is meant a group consisting of representatives of various organizations, as well as other individuals, who are specially interested in the National Council of Education and organize themselves to further its aims. On recognition of such "Local committees" by the central executive, the chairman of President thereof shall become a member of the National Council.

(b) Arrangements shall be made for a session or sessions of the National Council on the day preceding the next meeting of the National Conference or at such times as the Executive may deem advisable.

3. That the Executive Committee of the National Conference and of the National Council be constituted as follows: -

The Past President,
The President,
The Vice-President,
The Treasurer.

Ten members to be elected by the Conference as follows: two representatives (one French-speaking and one English-speaking) from the Province of Quebec, and one representative from each of the remaining provinces.

Five other members to be elected by the Conference.

A number of members, not exceeding ten, may be co-opted by the Executive Committee.

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[1] J. A. Dale, ed. Education and Life. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1924), pp. 303-306.

It is also recommended that the Departments of Educationa of the several provinces, the Universities Conference of Canada, the Canadian Teachers Federation and any other Dominion-wide organization interested in the work of the Council, be asked each to appoint one member of the Executive Committee.

4. That the Executive Committee be authorized to engage a secretariat.

5. That a preliminary meeting of the members of the Executive Committee be called as soon after their election as possible, and that such members as are present at this meeting shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of necessary business.

6. That the Executive Committee operate, in the intervals between its regular meetings, through a subcommittee of its own appointment.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Honorary President	His Excellency General Baron Byng of Vimy, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., LL.D.
President.	Mr. Vincent Massey, Toronto, Ontario

Ten Representatives from Provinces

Nova Scotia.	Professor Henry Munro, Halifax, N.S.
New Brunswick.	Dr. Clarence Webster, Shediac, N. B.
Prince Edward Island . . .	Miss Carrie Holman, Summerside, P.E.I.
Quebec	Mr. E. W. Beatty, Montreal. Sir George Garneau, Quebec City.
Ontario.	Some one to be chosen by the Executive.
Manitoba	Dr. E. Leslie Pidgeon, Winnipeg, Man.
Saskatchewan	Mr. D. M. Balfour, Regina, Saskatchewan.
Alberta.	Dr. A. M. Scott, Calgary, Alberta.
British Columbia	Mrs. R. C. Boyle, Vancouver, B.C.

Five Members at Large

Mr. Tom Moore, Ottawa, Ont.
Mrs. H. P. Plumptre, Toronto, Ont.
Mr. R. Y. Eaton, Toronto, Ont.
Mrs. R. F. McWilliams, Winnipeg, Man.
Principal W. L. Grant, Toronto, Ont.

APPENDIX H

APPENDIX H

LECTURERS INVOLVED IN THE NATIONAL LECTURESHIP SCHEME

1923-1924

The Viscount Cecil of Chelwood
Lord Baden-Powell
Lady Baden-Powell
Miss E. M. Gilpin
Mr. John Buchan (later Lord Tweedsmuir)
Sir Henry Newbolt
Sir Michael Sadler
Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe
Sir John Martin Hawey
Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher

1924-1925

Lady Snowden
Professor A. E. Zimmern
Mr. Allen S. Walker
Sir John S. Wardlaw-Milne
Miss Irene Ward
Mr. John St. Loe Strachey
Miss Lilian M. Faithful
Mrs. Zimmern
Sir John Power
Mr. A. A. Somerville
Mr. John Lewis Paton
Mrs. Strachey

1925-1926

The Earl of Elgin
The Viscount Allenby
Mr. Albert Mansbridge
Mr. Lowell Thomas
Sir John Adams
Senator Andre' Honnorat
Sir Hugh Allen
Rev. R. T. Glover
Dr. Thomas Hunt Morgan
The Countess of Elgin
The Viscountess Allenby
Mrs. Monsbridge
M. Charles Marchand
M. Jean Burkness
M. Etienne Gilson
The Duchess of Atholl
Dr. R. Tait McKenzie
Mr. Thomas Whitney Surette

1926-1927

Captain John B. Noel
Mr. M. P. Greenwood Adams
Mr. Alfred Noyes
Mrs. Noyes
Mr. Lowell Thoms
The Very Rev. Dr. A. V. Baillie,
  The Dean of Windsor
The Rev. Edmund H. Fellowes
Sir Sydney H. Nicholson
Mr. Hector Bolitho

Gentlemen of St. George's Chapel

Fred Naylor
Wallis Searle
Albert Key
Albert Watson
Harry Akeroyd
Frederick Smith
Maclcolm Boyle
Eaton Cooter

Choristers of Westminster Abbey

Harry Abbott
Wilfred Chappell
John Cruft
Eric Davy
John Hayward
Percy Hopkins
Peter King
William Knight
Leslie Mitchener
Bertram Piller
Lantham Titchener
Henry Wallace

1927-1928

Mr. Harry Irvine
Mr. John Walter
Mrs. Walter
Mr. Lowell Thomas
Mr. Arthur Rowntree
Mrs. May Elliot Hobbs
Lord Rennell of Rodd

1928-1929

Count Serge Fleury
Mr. J. C. Stobart
Sir Charles Grant Robertson
Professor Winnifred Cullis
Mr. L. B. Franklin
Mr. Robert Jarman
Mr. George Jeffrey
Mr. Toroa Kawasaki and a
Demonstration Team of
Ju Jitsu from Japan
Professor Charles Matousek
Mr. Frank Milner
Dr. Ludwig Mueller
Mr. Ernest Raymond
Sir Henry M. Richards
Dr. Bruno Roselli
Sir Archibald Strong
Sir Aubrey Symonds
Sir Rabindranath Tagore
Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams
Mr. S. H. Smith
Dr. A. A. Lendon
Mr. Alec Melrose
Mr. L. Kempff
Monsieur P. Suzor
Mr. J. Campbell McInnes

The Canadian Singers

Mrs. Gordon Kennedy
Mrs. Baldwin
Miss Florence Glenn
Miss Doreen Hillary
Miss Betty Gemmell
Miss Margaret Stephen

1929-1930

Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill
Rt. Hon. L. C. M. S. Amery
Sir Barry Jackson
Mr. Douglas Kennedy
Mr. H. Nevinson
Mr. Clive Carey

English Folk Dance Society

Miss Maud Karpeles
Mrs. Douglas Kennedy
Miss Joan Sharp
Miss Marjorie Sinclair
Miss A. McB. Stoddart
Miss Imogen Holst
Mr. Douglas Kennedy
Miss May Gadd
Mr. C. G. Bardswell
Mr. J. F. D. La Touche
Mr. Henry Trefusis
Mr. W. Ganiford
Mr. A. R. B. Wylam

Musicians

Miss Elsie Avril
Mrs. May Elliott Hobbs
Miss Joan Sharp

1930-1931

Mr. George E. Wilkinson
Commander G. B. Spicer-Simson
Dr. T. R. Glover
Mr. Ernest Raymond
Dr. Ludwig Mueller
Mrs. Beatrice Ensor
Mr. J. Campbell McInnes
Dr. Anrl Palsson
Mr. Clive Carey

1931-1932

Mr. Robert Burnett
Mr. Peter Manniche
Mr. George Pilcher
Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali
Sir Henry Lawrence
Captain John B. Noel
Mr. Allan Wilkie
Miss Hunter-Watson
Sir Barry Jackson

Company of British Players

Daphne Heard
Sophie Stewart
Prudence Magor
Peggy Surtees
Mollie Hartley-Milburn
Thelma Rea
Barbara Francis
Mavis Edwards
Mary Chawner
Muriel Sterling
Sybil Brooke
Julian D'Albie
Donald Wolfit
Jack Minster
Ellis Irving
Andrew Leigh
A. Caton-Woodville
Nora Nicholson
Raymond Cash
Hugh Casson
John Brown
Richard Haines
Kenneth Fraser
Gordon Crier

1932-1933

Count Serge Fleury
Professor R. C. Davison
Sir Frank Dyson
Mr. S. R. K. Glanville
The Marquess of Zetland
Mrs. Patricia Kendall
Sir Hubert Wilkins
Mr. Arthur C. Pillsbury
Mr. Philip Guedella
Captain John B. Noel
Mr. Niels Bukh

Team of Danish Gymnasts

Johan Carlsen
Magnus Olsen
Erik Flensted Jensen
Ankjaer Madsen
Eli Neilson
Arthur Hanson
Asta Heller
Knud Hojgaard
Jorgen Rosendahl
Jens Bojsen Moller
Grete Funch
Ella Lauritsen
Esther Skriver
Lisbeth Lange
Holger Jorgenson
Marius Anderson
Herdis Kirkegaard
Elin Margit Petersen
Ricard Hansen
Musse Gudiksen
Svend Ludvigsen
Jorgen Jorgenson
Anna Bjerre Sand
Meta Grevsen
Inga Anderson

1933-1934

The Viscount Samuel
Professor T. E. Gregory
Sir Norman Angell
Sir Alfred Zimmern
Lady Zimmern
Mr. Bertram Thoms
Mrs. Thomas
Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland
Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe
Rev. H. J. Cody
Dr. W. Hamilton Fyfe
Commendatore Luigi Villari
Don Mario and Donna Adelina Colonna
Signorina Amy Bernardy
Signor Eugenio F. Croizat
Mr. Peter Manniche
Sir Percy Sykes
Miss Pattie Price
Miss Jenny Brown
Captain A. J. Wilson
Mr. Brian Cook
Professor Julian Huxley
Mr. Vernon Bartlett

1935-1936

Mr. G. T. Hankin
Mr. D. D. Anderson
Mr. Wm. D. Cousins
Mr. T. J. Rees
Mr. W. A. F. Hepburn
Dr. J. E. Smart
Mr. W. A. Brockington
Mr. F. H. Toyne
Mr. E. M. Rich
Mr. E. Salter Davies
Mr. Thos. B. Tilley
Mr. J. A. Peart
Miss Marjorie Gullan
Sir Alfred Zimmern
Mr. Peter Manniche
Captain John B. Noel
Professor Lloyd James
Dr. J. C. B. Grundy
Mr. J. Campbell McInnes
Mr. Hugh Molson
Miss Marjorie Gullan
Mr. Brian Cook
Miss Mary Ramsay
Mr. Anders Timberg
Miss Zoe Puxley

1938-1939

Malik Sir Firozkhan Noon
Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali
The Canadian Trio: Ida, Zara and Anna Nelson
Mr. Aidan Crawley
Miss Marjorie Gullan

1939-1940

Rosita Forbes	Dr. Charles H. Moody
Admiral Sir Howard Kelly	Mr. B. O. Schonegevel

1940-1941

Mr. Tracy Philipps	Dr. Winifred Cullis
Mr. Alfred Noyes	Sir Robert Clive
Mrs. Noyes	Malik Sir Firozkhan Noon

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

LIST OF CENTRES WITH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION LOCAL COMMITTEES

1925	1928	1939
Victoria	Victoria	Victoria
Vancouver	Vancouver	Vancouver
Edmonton	Edmonton	Edmonton
Calgary	Calgary	Calgary
Regina	Regina	Regina
Saskatoon	Saskatoon	Saskatoon
Yorkton	Yorkton	
Moose Jaw	Moose Jaw	
Brandon		
Winnipeg	Winnipeg	Winnipeg
Toronto	Toronto	Toronto
Kingston		
Hamilton	Hamilton	
Guelph		
Peterborough		
London	London	
St. Catharines		
Windsor		
Stratford	Stratford	
Port Arthur/Fort William		
Ottawa	Ottawa	Ottawa
Montreal	Montreal	Montreal
Quebec City	Quebec City	Quebec City
Sherbrooke	Sherbrooke	
St. John	St. John	
Fredericton	Fredericton	Fredericton
Moncton	Moncton .	
Sackville	Sackville	Sackville

1925	1928	1939
Halifax	Halifax	Halifax
Truro		
	Wolfville	Wolfville
Summerside		

APPENDIX J

APPENDIX J

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE VICTORIA/VANCOUVER NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE - 1929[1]

RESOLUTION RE CANADIAN BOYS' AND GIRLS' MAGAZINE:

Moved by Mr. Harry Charlesworth (Vancouver).
Seconded by Dr. Ellery Read (Sherbrooke).

That this meeting heartily supports the suggestion of the publication of a Canadian boys' and girls' magazine under the auspices of the National Council of Education, and recommends the appointment of a special committee to carry out the necessary preparatory inquiry as to details, and to report to the Executive Committee of the Council for action.

And further, that every effort be made to secure the cooperation of the various Provincial Departments of Educationa, the Provincial Teachers' Associations, the Canadian Authors' Association, and such similar organisations as may be of practical value in assisting to achieve the desired end.

RESOLUTION RE FOREIGN LITERAUTRE IN CANADA:

Moved by Mr. S. E. Lang (Victoria).
Seconded by Mrs. Dallas Perry (Vancouver).

That the National Conference assembled in Vancouver is strongly of the opinion *that* it is incompatible with the development in Canada of the type of citizenship which Canadians desire that the country should be flooded, as it is flooded, with publications which are undesirable from the point of view of morals, intellectual standards, and a sound nationalism in accord with our British tradition.

The Conference therefore urgently requests the Executive Committee to approach the Canadian Government and ask that steps be taken to prevent the sale of such publications in Canada.

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[1] S. E. Lang, ed. Education and Leisure. (London/Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1930), pp. 275-277.

RESOLUTION RE THE PLACE AND PART OF RECREATION IN EDUCATION:

Moved by Dr. Ellery Read (Sherbrooke).
Seconded by Mrs. Allen (Moosejaw).

That recognising the necessity of providing a broad and cultural education for the boys and girls of our Dominion, *and further,* that this should embrace physical education and artistic expression through the medium of folk-dances, music and the drama, therefore, we would recommend to the Executive of the National Council of Education the advisability of seeking from the Federal Government adequate financial support by the granting of subsidies to, or the establishment of scholarships in, our Provincial Universities, to assist them in training qualified and competent instructors in such subjects as may be included in this larger curriculum.

RESOLUTION RE A NATIONAL POLICY FOR EXPLOITATION OF THE RADIO:

Moved by Professor G. G. Sedgewick (University of British Columbia).
Seconded by Mr. J. S. Gordon (Inspector of Schools, Vancouver, B.C.).

That in the interests of Canadian national life and culture, it is imperative to proceed at once with the organisation of radio broadcasting on a basis of public service, with Dominion and Provincial co-operation.

RESOLUTION RE THE INFLUENCE OF THE FOREIGN FILM:

(1) *Moved* by Dr. G. J. Davidson (University of British Columbia).
Seconded by Mrs. Allen (Moosejaw).

That this Conference approve some measure of limitation of the freedom of children in attending moving picture theatres, with a general undertaking on the part of the educational authorities of the Provinces and of the Dominion to develop under their own control, the production, distribution, and exhibition of films suitable for children. Such films to be both educational and recreational in character.

(2) *Moved* by Dr. G. J. Davidson (University of British Columbia).
Seconded by Lt.-Colonel J. A. Cooper (Toronto).

That this Conference approve and strongly urge on the Dominion Government the remission of duty on educational films imported for the library the Council proposes to form, and on all films imported by school boards or other educational authorities for use in
other places where they are exhibited under the control of these authorities.

(3) *Moved* by Mr. J. G. Lister (Vancouver).
Seconded by Dr. G. J. Davidson (University of British Columbia).

That steps be taken by the proper authorities to have all advertising matter, whether in the newspapers or on bill boards, scrutinised in a way that will eliminate the objectionable features which are now so plainly in evidence in connection with the cinema.

(4) *Moved* by Dr. G. J. Davidson (University of British Columbia).
Seconded by Sir Charles Grant Robertson (Great Britain).

That the regulations on which theatres are licensed be reviewed by the Governments concerned in co-operation with the industry, with a view to securing a more effective control of the purposes for which in the interests of the community, these theatres are authorised to provide recreation and entertainment.

APPENDIX K

APPENDIX K

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE - 1932 PROPOSAL

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

PROPOSED ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE[1]

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE (Montreal)
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
BRITISH COMMITTEE (London)

LOCAL COMMITTEES

EDUCATIONAL SUB-COMMITTEES

Physical Education and Health
Music and Speech
Drama and Dramatic Appreciation
Art and Art Appreciation
Radio
Visual Education (Cinema) and Geography
Literature and History (Both English and French)

EAST

HALIFAX
WOLFVILLE
SACKVILLE
FREDERICTON
QUEBEC
LENNOXVILLE
MONTREAL
OTTAWA
KINGSTON
LONDON
HAMILTON
TORONTO

WEST

WINNIPEG
REGINA
YORKTON
SASKATOON
EDMONTON
VANCOUVER
CALGARY
VICTORIA

ORGANIZATION SUB-COMMITTEES

Finance
Hospitality
Publicity
Church Co-operation
University Co-operation (Faculty and Students)
Teachers' Organizations
International Co-operation

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[1] University of Alberta Archives, Wallace Papers, 3/2/11/5-3(4), Letter, Frederick J. Ney to R. C. Wallace, March 27, 1932, "Memorandum C" attached.